





## The weather at major Swissair destinations

| 30.10.83       | MIN | MAX | WIND | WEATHER |
|----------------|-----|-----|------|---------|
| AMSTERDAM      | 8   | 18  | 12   | Sunny   |
| BRUSSELS       | 3   | 11  | 12   | Sunny   |
| RUHRIG AIRS    | 3   | 11  | 12   | Sunny   |
| CHICAGO        | 14  | 24  | 25   | Cloudy  |
| COPENHAGEN     | 4   | 20  | 25   | Cloudy  |
| FRANKFURT      | 1   | 14  | 15   | Cloudy  |
| GENEVA         | 2   | 10  | 10   | Rain    |
| HELSINKI       | 3   | 17  | 15   | Cloudy  |
| OSLO           | 2   | 10  | 10   | Cloudy  |
| STOCKHOLM      | 2   | 10  | 10   | Cloudy  |
| WILMINGTON     | 17  | 23  | 25   | Cloudy  |
| LONDON         | 15  | 22  | 25   | Cloudy  |
| MADRID         | 12  | 18  | 15   | Cloudy  |
| MUNICH         | 1   | 14  | 15   | Cloudy  |
| PARIS          | 1   | 14  | 15   | Cloudy  |
| PRAGUE         | 5   | 11  | 10   | Cloudy  |
| RIO DE JANEIRO | 18  | 24  | 25   | Cloudy  |
| SAO PAULO      | 18  | 24  | 25   | Cloudy  |
| STOCKHOLM      | 4   | 10  | 10   | Cloudy  |
| TOKYO          | 10  | 16  | 15   | Cloudy  |
| YOKOHAMA       | 3   | 17  | 15   | Cloudy  |
| ZURICH         | 2   | 10  | 10   | Rain    |

For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair

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swissair

## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy, warmer

| Yesterday's | Yesterday's | Today's |
|-------------|-------------|---------|
| Humidity    | Min-Max     | Max     |
| Jerusalem   | 68          | 14-21   |
| Golan       | 51          | 15-22   |
| Nabatieh    | 60          | 17-24   |
| Safed       | 59          | 13-17   |
| Haifa Port  | 62          | 22-25   |
| Tiberias    | 43          | 27-28   |
| Nazareth    | 52          | 16-21   |
| Afula       | 62          | 15-24   |
| Shomron     | 76          | 16-20   |
| Tel Aviv    | 69          | 19-24   |
| B-G Airport | 82          | 17-23   |
| Jericho     | 44          | 19-28   |
| Gaza        | 67          | 19-24   |
| Beer Sheva  | 51          | 12-23   |
| Eilat       | 27          | 17-29   |

## DEPARTURES

World WIZO president Raya Jaglom to attend the Presidium for Soviet Jewry, and to Berlin, New York, Toronto and Madrid on WIZO business.

## Kirkpatrick weighs UN force for Lebanon

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. — American Ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick yesterday said she would support the replacement of the multinational force in Lebanon by UN peacekeeping forces "under the right circumstances and the right direction."

Kirkpatrick, speaking on NBC's *Meet the Press*, said that the Soviet Union has been the major obstacle to dispatching the UN peacekeeping forces to Lebanon. The Soviets, she argued, are opposed to sending such forces to areas in Lebanon where their allies seem to be gaining militarily.

The ambassador also defended the U.S. invasion of Grenada, arguing that it will strengthen the confidence of U.S. allies in American positions in the world.

## TA COUNCIL

(Continued from Page One)

main in the coalition.

The Citizens Rights Movement, headed by MK Shulamit Aloni, commended Lahat and Ben-Meir on the coalition agreement, which "releases the public from religious pressures and blackmail."

Transport Minister Haim Corfu (Herut) and Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i (Liberal) said that the coalition agreement had yet to be discussed and approved by the relevant party leadership, and said if it is not approved Lahat may have to cancel it.

Tel Aviv's election committee announced that according to the elections regulations concerning surplus votes surplus votes distribution agreements and factions which join coalitions, the Alignment faction has only nine mandates, instead of the 10 calculated at first, while the Independent Liberals have two instead of one. This development will not change the coalition agreement, sources close to Lahat said yesterday, but may help to "soften" Alignment positions against the religious faction.

The Alignment intends to appeal the election committee's decision to allot it nine council mandates instead of 10. Meanwhile, negotiations between the Alignment and the Independent Liberals are in progress as to the possibility of the latter joining the Alignment in the council.

## Welcome Back to Israel

from America

Ascher Wien and wife Lillian, Gracious curators of the Wlen Art Gallery, Yemin Moshe, Jerusalem.

Dr. Samuel Kouffman and wife Sarah, Providence, Rhode Island.

Arthur Tarlowe, C.P.A. and wife Ethel, New York and Encino, California.

All supporters of worthy causes. From the Capt. Yehiel and Ruth Glavsky, Langer Hospital Foundation, One Mapu St., Jerusalem.

## The Joint Israel Appeal of Great Britain and its Israel Office

The British Olin Society Ltd., and the Israel Office of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, Australia and New Zealand

send their heartfelt congratulations to

## ROSE AND HARRY SHINE

on the joyous occasion of their Diamond Wedding.

May they continue to live together in happiness.

## HOME NEWS

### Engineers demand parity with MDs

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Engineers' Union announced yesterday that it will seek the same salary increases that the doctors recently received. Union secretary Yitzhak Raz said at a press conference here that the engineers had been persuaded to go along with the national wage framework agreement last January "because that was all the country could afford. We agreed, but only on condition that if it turned out later that someone else got more, we would get what they got," he said.

Raz announced that the engineers are pressing their demand through a suit against the government filed with the Voluntary Arbitration Board. He added that it is the largest suit ever against the state. "If we win, the decision will apply to another 35 other trade unions as well," he said. Attorney Yisrael Gil, representing the engineers, explained that the board is headed by former Supreme Court Justice Zvi Berenson and has two other members representing the public. He explained that the action was

filed with the board rather than with the Labour Court because procedures there are faster. He noted that the board has enforcement authority like a court. Gil said that the engineers asked the board to order the government to reveal all the details of the doctors' arbitration award. Asked if Israel Kessar, the head of the Histadrut's Trade Union Department, approved of the engineers' move, Raz said Kessar knew of the engineers' intention and did not try to dissuade them from going ahead with it.

### Hospital inquiry report is ruled 'more than hearsay'

Supreme Court deputy president Meir Shamgar has sharply criticized the state for trying to quash the findings of a hospital commission of inquiry as evidence in a lawsuit by the parents of a girl who died on the operating table.

The death occurred at Haifa's Rambam Hospital in 1976, during eye surgery. The girl's father sued doctors at the government hospital, charging them with negligence. In the ensuing litigation, he tried to submit to the Haifa District Court the findings of an internal hospital inquiry, but the state objected, arguing that it constituted hearsay, and that the plaintiff was forbidden by the rules of civil procedure from submitting it.

The district court ruled against the state, and Shamgar's latest ruling came on its appeal of the interim

decision. The inquiry findings are not mere hearsay, the justice found, but rather an out-of-court admission "by agency," thus constituting one of the exceptions to the exclusion of most indirect evidence. Formation of the commission by the government hospital made it a "long arm" of the state, he said, pointing out that its conclusions on the death could still be contradicted by other testimony in the trial if the defence so desired.

The findings of such an official panel cannot be a priori excluded, Shamgar concluded, strongly criticizing the state for trying to do so. The attempt to conceal valid evidence demands an explanation, he said, announcing that he would call the matter to the attention of the attorney-general. (Iim)



Interior Minister Yosef Burg questions prisoner-students of the yeshiva for penitents which was dedicated yesterday at Tel Mond Prison. Looking on is Rabbi Yitzhak David Grossman of Migdal Ha'emek, upon whose initiative the yeshiva was founded. (Zoom 77)

### Arens to rethink handling of war objectors

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Defence Minister Moshe Arens yesterday agreed to reconsider the army's handling of soldiers who refuse to serve in Lebanon.

Arens was responding to a demand by young Herut members that the defence establishment take harsher measures against the objectors and that a public debate on the problem be initiated to demonstrate the national consensus that soldiers must obey orders.

Yakov Skuler, chairman of the executive of young Herut, who headed the team which met the

minister, told *The Jerusalem Post* that the army's lax treatment and the absence of national condemnation led more people to refuse service in Lebanon.

Some 100 soldiers have so far been imprisoned for refusing to serve in Lebanon. But Skuler said many avoid punishment when their battalions replace them with other soldiers.

The demand for harsher action was also voiced at a meeting between retired army personnel and Chief of Staff Rav Aluf Moshe Levy on October 18 here. Levy said then the problem was marginal and he did not want to create a picture of

the army pitted against these soldiers. Soldiers' commanders should tackle the problem, he said, opposing demands that the men be brought before a military tribunal.

Leading members of the Kibbutz Meuhad movement are seeking to remove Lebanon objectors from any positions involving kibbutz education, it has been reported.

MK Ya'acov Tsor of Kibbutz Halamed Heh, confirmed the report, adding that the group has been in existence for some time. Prominent in the movement, he said, are Ran Sarig of Beit Hashita and Dani Hadar of Gvat.

### El Al to have Saturday night flights from Europe

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — El Al will start Saturday night flights from five European cities beginning this Saturday in an attempt to cut some of the losses it has sustained since the cabinet decision made during the Begin government, that it cease all Sabbath flights.

The national carrier's planes will fly to Paris, London, Frankfurt, Zurich and Copenhagen on Friday morning, arriving well before the Sabbath begins and stay there over the Sabbath, and the new timetable shows. The planes will take off

again on Saturday at 6:15 p.m. or later, after the Sabbath ends.

Last year nearly a quarter of the airline's flights were on the Sabbath and El Al officials said cessation of that service cost the national carrier some \$30 million. El Al's winter schedule calls for 74 scheduled flights a week to 24 destinations in North America, Europe and Africa.

El Al will also operate four flights a week to Eilat. Planes will bring passengers to Ben-Gurion Airport from 13 destinations in Europe and the passengers will then transfer to a Boeing 737 for the flights to Eilat.

### RABBI SCHACH

(Continued from Page One)

Aguda factions are bitterly divided over the allocation of funds to hassidic and non-hassidic educational institutions. Another bone of contention is a rotation agreement whereby one of the present four MKs is to yield his Knesset seat to the next man on the Aguda list.

Neither the hassidic nor the non-hassidic branch is willing to give up any of its positions of power. In Jerusalem city councilman Rabbi Avraham Leizerovson yesterday denied categorically that Schach could have resigned over any failure of the Gerrer Hassidim to vote for Agudat Yisrael. In fact, he said, the Gerrer Hassidim worked and voted for the Aguda list.

Others speculated that Schach did not want to become involved in

what appears to be a pending fight by ultra-Orthodox Sephardim for greater representation within Agudat Yisrael and a possible split from the party following the success of Sephardi Guardians of the Torah in the Jerusalem municipal elections last week.

But MK Rabbi Menachem Porush said that those close to Schach had pressed him for his reasons all day yesterday, but to no avail. In any case, Porush said, "he will certainly not abandon the helm of Agudat Yisrael in its present stormy sea."

### 10,000 march to UK Soviet Embassy

By HYAM CORNEY

Jerusalem Correspondent

LONDON. — Over 10,000 people marched from Speaker's Corner, Hyde Park, to the Soviet Embassy yesterday in a demonstration of support for Soviet Jewry. The National Council for Soviet Jewry, described it as "the biggest rally every in Britain for Soviet Jewry."

Five of the march leaders were allowed to go through to the gates of the embassy to hand a letter to the ambassador. An official there told them to phone the embassy to make an appointment. This morning the group will try to see the ambassador.

As the marchers filed past the gates of the embassy, three rabbis blew the shofar. The marchers, who came from cities all over Britain, responded with chants of "Am Yisrael Hai".

At the head of the march were delegates from 16 countries to the conference of the World Presidium on Soviet Jewry.

### U.S. diplomat hopeful on Syria

WASHINGTON (AFP). — It appears that Syria has taken a more conciliatory position, now that it has agreed to the principle of a cease-fire and to the convening of a conference of Lebanese reconciliation.

U.S. Undersecretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger said yesterday in an interview on ABC-Television.

Asked what he thought was the reason for the change in the Syrian position, Eagleburger replied that Syria apparently came to the conclusion that the balance of power is not tipped in its favour.

Eagleburger, who is due to arrive in Israel tomorrow, said further that the U.S. is continuing to strive for the evacuation of all foreign forces from Lebanon.



Two policewomen from West Germany examine a display of Israeli equipment at the International Police Association's annual convention, which opened yesterday in Tel Aviv. Attending are 320 policemen and women from 13 countries. Some 400 others scheduled to attend did not come, due to high costs or the political situation in the region, convention sources said. (IPPA)

### NEWS BACKGROUND/Asher Wallfish

### 10-man economic committee is largest ever

The cabinet yesterday appointed the largest Committee of Economic Ministers ever, with 10 members.

Former finance minister Yoram Aridor was chairman of a committee numbering seven members, including himself.

Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad chairs the new committee. His colleagues are Deputy Premier and Housing Minister David Levy; Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i; Education Minister Zevulun Hammer; Agriculture Minister Pessah Grupper; Economic Coordination Minister Ya'acov Meridor; Social Affairs Minister Aharon Uzan; Transport Minister Haim Corfu; Tourism Minister Avraham Shafir; and Industry and Trade Minister Gideon Patt.

The newcomers are Moda'i, Corfu and Shafir.

In the past, committees of economic ministers never had a clearly defined role, and their manner of operation always depended on the character as well as the approach of the finance minister.

Labour's Pinhas Sapir, for example, would tell his colleagues which economic measures he intended to apply or had already applied, and would then mobilize their support.

Yigal Hurvitz saw the committee as a kind of mini-economic cabinet. Aridor treated the committee as though it did not exist for a good part of his term.

Cohen-Orad apparently sees advantage in having a large committee

so that he can hammer out palatable measures based on the broadest possible coalition consensus, and does not intend to submit policies to the committee merely to be rubber-stamped.

Cohen-Orad no doubt recalls that Moda'i was one of Aridor's leading critics, but probably hopes he might forbear from criticizing Treasury policy publicly once he is inside and shares the responsibility.

Shafir has been lobbying active of late to get onto the committee on the grounds that tourism earns more foreign currency than agriculture and diamonds together.

Corfu had often attended committee sessions in the past by invitation.

### Scepticism over why U.S. refused aid for bomb victims

By DAVID LANDAU

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Israeli officials seemed to remain sceptical at the weekend about American explanations as to why the U.S. did not use Israeli hospitals and rescue equipment after the Beirut bomb-blasts.

A warm letter from Secretary of State George Shultz to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir thanking Israel for its offers of aid did not explain why these offers were not taken up.

In other contacts Washington explained that, given the relatively low number of wounded compared to dead, the Sixth Fleet medical facilities were adequate. Had there been more wounded the facilities at Israeli hospitals would have been used.

Israeli sources maintain that kidney-treatment developed in Israeli hospitals specifically for cases like these might perhaps have

saved lives had it been used. Similarly, Israeli compressed-air techniques for shifting concrete rubble might have helped the rescuers make faster progress.

Jerusalem, however, does not wish to pursue this argument any further. Shultz's letter was seen here as a clear effort to allay Israeli resentment and suspicion that political considerations stood behind the U.S. decision to forgo Israeli aid.

Premier Shamir mentioned the letter at cabinet yesterday, and it was plain that he wants now to end the public controversy over this matter.

(Defence Minister Moshe Arens declared yesterday that while Israeli offers of medical aid after the Beirut blasts were not turned down when they were made, Israel was a "little puzzled" by the subsequent American shunning of Israel help. He was speaking on the CBS *Face the Nation* television show.)

### Gov't to discuss foreign funds to local Arabs

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — The government will soon discuss legal measures that could be taken to stop contributions to Israeli Arabs from foreign organizations that have close ties with the PLO, the prime minister's adviser on Arab affairs, Binjamin Gur-Arye told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

Gur-Arye said that according to his estimates, foreign organizations contribute over \$1 million annually to Israeli Arabs for the construction of clubhouses for cultural activities, dance and folklore groups, and for scholarships to enable students to obtain higher education here and abroad. In one case, a Jewish-Arab cultural centre in the north was of-

fered a generous contribution which was turned down when it was learned that the source might be the PLO.

Local Arabs council heads told *The Post* that they have requested and received money from international organizations, including churches, in West Germany, Belgium, England and Holland, but denied requesting or receiving funds from PLO sources.

The higher rent, for immigrants who have been in absorption centres for more than six months and are employed, does not exceed 25 per cent of the immigrant's or his family's net income.

For years the rent for a three-room apartment in absorption centres has been around \$40 a month. It was increased in shekels only a bit more than the rate of inflation. But the Jewish Agency found that it could not continue to subsidize rents to such an extent. Such a flat now rents for the equivalent of \$120 a month.

A source in the aliya department admitted that it had been foolish for the agency not to have increased rents gradually in real terms over the last few years. In that way, it would have avoided the sudden rise which has shocked many of the immigrants.

### ISRAEL ISAAC TASLITT

The funeral will leave today, October 31, 1983 at 1 p.m. from 5 Daphna St., Tel Aviv, for the Ramat Hasharon cemetery, A.A.C.I. section.

Sylvia Taslitt, wife  
Nina Rothman, daughter  
Mordechai Shalom Taslitt, son  
Celia Bernstein, mother-in-law  
Families in Israel and abroad

Transportation will be available to cemetery.

### Yael

Hebrew Union College  
Jewish Institute of Religion

We share the sorrow of the Assabi and Marcus families on the untimely death of their beloved

### JOHANNA GOLDSCHMIDT

The funeral will leave today, Monday, October 31, 1983 at 12 noon from the Sanhedria funeral parlour, Jerusalem, for the Har Hamenuhot cemetery.

Her children: Emilia and Jehuda Weil, Haifa  
Chava and Jonah Fraenkel, Jerusalem  
Her sister: Dr. Else Neustadt, Hanover, Mass., U.S.A.  
Her grandchildren and their families  
Shiva at 3 Rehov Ha'ari, Jerusalem.

### RAYMOND DAVID DALAH

on October 27, 1983.

Shiva prayers on Tuesday, November 1, 1983 at 4 p.m. at 2/5 Rehov Yerushalayim, Bat Yam, Tel. 03-583058.

Deeply mourned by  
Wife — Mozelle David  
Brothers, sisters, family and friends



# Hammer and Orgad meet on education

By LEA LEVAVI,  
SUSAN BELLOS  
and AVI TEMKIN

Teams from the Treasury and the Education Ministry met last night to draft the details of a planned cut in the Education Ministry discussed earlier yesterday by Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad and Education Minister Ze'evulun Hammer.

The two agreed that the cuts will be concentrated in four main areas: the hours allocated for extra-curricular activities will be reduced; education fees will be levied on the pupils' parents (with poor families exempted); pupils will clean the schools instead of paid staff; and the number of substitute teachers will be decreased.

At the beginning of the ministers' meeting some Treasury officials proposed a cut of IS5.5 billion, but the Education Ministry officials immediately reacted with the contention that since the cabinet in August had approved a IS4.5b. slash, not yet implemented, it would be impossible now to go above that figure.

Cohen-Orgad is planning to raise at the next cabinet meeting his plans for a cut in the budgets of all ministries' budgets, which by some estimates will total about \$500 million. A large part of these cuts was approved by the previous cabinet, but they were never implemented owing to the opposition of the Tami party.

## Shmueli promises

Education Ministry director-general Eliezer Shmueli told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that the ministry will not permit any cuts in basic teaching hours. He was reacting to charges by Knesset Education Committee chairwoman Ora Namir in telegrams yesterday to Hammer and Cohen-Orgad.

Namir denounced the proposed IS5.5b. budget slash (out of total ministry budget of IS58b.). She accused the two ministers of dangerously reducing educational levels, especially among the poor. Shmueli said: "We are examining all feasible cuts — except class teaching hours."

Shmueli's pet budget cut, which he has been suggesting for some time, is to get the pupils to clean the schools. If all students from the seventh grade up did regular school cleaning, it would save the ministry IS600m., Shmueli said. He said that guidance-counseling hours, informal education and after-school cultural activities were other probable cuts.

It seems likely that money will be raised by a school levy from kindergarten to the 12th grade. Last August, the suggested figure by both the education and finance ministries was IS4,000 per child per year.

Substitute teachers would be hired only after the fourth day of the regular teacher's absence.

There will also probably be reductions in busing pupils to school. It does not seem likely at this stage a second shift will be introduced in Jewish schools, although they already exist in the Arab school network.

## Teachers threaten strike

The Secondary School Teachers Association announced yesterday that it will call a strike if the Eizioni agreement (which would give teachers pay raises and improved working conditions) is not signed this week. The teachers believe the proposed cuts in the education budget will mean further postponement of the Eizioni recommendations.

Shoshana Bayer, chairman of the association, told *The Post* that the teachers will not consider the assumption of new obligations (substituting for absent colleagues, supervising their students in cleaning the schools, etc.) unless the benefits promised in the Eizioni recommendations are forthcoming.

The Histadrut Teachers Union has acceded to a request by Hammer to wait until tomorrow before taking any action or issuing any statements about the budget cuts or the Eizioni agreement.

But Yitzhak Welber, the union's deputy secretary-general, told *The Post* that his union objects strenuously to the idea of teachers substituting for their absent colleagues.

"If the substitution is to be at the expense of the two non-teaching hours a week, we object because these two hours are designed for an entirely different purpose. And if the substitution is at the expense of teachers' free periods... do you know of any other workers who would be willing to work overtime and donate their pay to the government?"

Yitzhak Efron, chairman of the council of the National Parents Association, is displeased about the proposed cuts. "Education, as usual, is the first place they cut, and always the things which are easiest to cut — services to pupils," he said. "I haven't heard anything about cuts in settlements in Judea and Samaria."

"I haven't even heard about plans to change the education budget so that the budget will be per pupil instead of per class; the current method benefits Agudat Yisrael schools where classes are very small."

## Kotlowitz drops bid in court

By JUDY SIEGEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Ousted Jewish Agency aliyah department chairman Raphael Kotlowitz yesterday withdrew his request for an injunction from the Tel Aviv District Court to prevent the Agency board of governors from appointing anyone else to the post.

Last week, a majority of the Agency board of governors decided that Kotlowitz would not continue in the post, which he has held for six years. On Thursday, Judge Yosef Harish told Kotlowitz that he would decide the case on Sunday (yesterday), but he indicated that there was not much chance that he would issue the injunction and advised Kotlowitz to settle the matter out of court.

The Jewish Agency board of governors can now appoint a replacement for Kotlowitz, who remains a member of the Agency Executive. But according to the Agency constitution, until a new department chairman is selected by the board, the previous chairman may remain in the post.

The board members — at least the 31 Diaspora members — have already gone home, and it is not certain when they will meet again to name a new aliyah department chairman. The next scheduled meeting is in February, but they could convene in Jerusalem before that.

Kotlowitz can also remain chairman of the World Zionist Organization aliyah department, which deals with immigrants from the West (the Agency aliyah department is charged with responsibility with aliyah from countries of oppression and with the running of absorption centres in Israel). However, since the establishment of the aliyah departments, the same man has always headed both.

## Zamir: Treasury may open bourse

The finance minister is empowered to order the opening of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange for trade even if its directors oppose such a move, according to an opinion submitted by Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir.

Zamir was asked for his opinion during the recent two-week closure of the exchange while the agreement on the government's support of the bank shares was being worked out. Several economic officials at the time felt that at least partial trading, in state bonds, for instance, should have continued.

Quoting section 50C of the Securities Law, Zamir said the finance minister has absolute discretion to order the exchange opened for full or partial trading, "for the benefit of the investing public."

In the end, there was no need for Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad or his predecessor Yoram Aridor to exercise their discretion during the recent crisis, since the stock exchange board eventually decided to reopen the bourse last week. (Itim)

## High Court rejects case against Zamir by MK Nof's wife

The High Court of Justice yesterday turned down a petition by the estranged wife of MK Akiva Nof to force the police and Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir to press charges against her husband for alleged mistreatment.

The decision followed a long struggle between Mira and Akiva Nof over property, and allegations that each is harassing the other.

Writing the court's opinion, Deputy President Justice Meir Shamgar reiterated the principle that the High Court intervenes in the attorney-general's handling of criminal files only if there is at least some evidence that he employed improper considerations or acted in bad faith. This was not the case here, he said, adding that there was therefore no need to rule on Zamir's reasons for not pursuing the issue.

In its statement to the court, the attorney-general's office said that some of Mira Nof's complaints seemed aimed only at harassing her husband, and that they constituted an "improper use of the police as a tool for seeking advantage in a private dispute."

The petitioner was ordered to pay IS50,000 in legal expenses to the attorney-general and to her husband. (Itim)

## Eisenberg agent denies huge profit from Ata shares

By MACABEE DEAN

TEL AVIV. — Michael Albin, who represents the interests of the Eisenberg group in Israel, yesterday denied statements made by MK Yair Tzaban (Mapam) that the Eisenberg group had made substantial profits on Ata shares, but is unwilling to help rehabilitate the ailing textile company.

In the summer and winter of 1982 the Eisenberg group made four huge purchases of Ata stock valued at \$6m. in all, doubling the group's holdings from six to 11 per cent of Ata's equity, Albin said. During the same period the group sold shares valued at \$250,000. Since then, he said, the group has not sold any shares whatsoever although their price has fallen sharply.

Unrelated to those stock purchases and sales, since 1976 the

group invested a total of \$11.5m. in expanding and modernizing the Ata plants, Albin said. Ata ran into trouble as a result of the government's massive devaluation early this month, which made repayment of loans very difficult, and secondly, because the government had raised the price of electricity and water. Ata is ready to put another \$5m. into the plants, but it also needs a \$10m. government loan to tide the company over.

Albin recalled that the government had loaned Frutaron \$10m. two years ago to save it from collapse, and Frutaron employed only 600 persons, not 3000 like Ata.

GRANT. — The government recently granted IS350,000 to Arab villages in the north for constructing religious, cultural, and sport projects.



Argentinian citizens line up yesterday outside their country's embassy in Tel Aviv to cast absentee ballots in the Argentinian elections. (Story, Page 4).

(Alex Libek)

## Tussle likely over lands director

By ASHER WALLFISH  
and YITZHAK OKED

Opposition is building within the cabinet to the demand of Agriculture Minister Pesach Grupper to remove the director-general of the Israel Lands Administration, Meir Shamir, and replace him with his deputy, Moshe Lipka.

At yesterday's weekly cabinet session, Grupper told his colleagues of his proposal to put Lipka in, but said that Minister without Portfolio Ariel Sharon (a former minister of agriculture) had asked him to defer any cabinet discussion until Sharon got back from abroad, and Grupper had consented.

Grupper recently asked Shamir to resign in favour of Lipka, but Shamir replied that since the cabinet appoints the director-general of the ILA, it is up to the

cabinet to remove him.

The Minister of Agriculture has parliamentary responsibility for the ILA.

Apart from Sharon, who appointed Shamir, Deputy Premier David Levy and Social Affairs Minister Aharon Uzan have already said publicly they want Shamir to stay on. Levy, who also holds the Housing portfolio, has worked closely with Shamir. Uzan, a minister of agriculture in a former Labour-led coalition, also worked with Shamir when Shamir ran Jewish Agency settlement programmes.

The ILA staff committee sent an open letter to Grupper expressing its support of Shamir, who in the past three years has totally revamped and modernized the ILA. Among other changes, he has seen

to the registration of all tracts and plots on computer for easy access.

The post of ILA director-general has had its ups and downs over the years. When Sharon took over Agriculture in 1977, he brought in Ya'acov Aknin, a staunch Herut Party veteran and a close colleague. However, Sharon could not get on with Aknin, fired him after considerable linen was washed in public, and appointed Shamir, who has no party label at all, and whose name has been linked, without basis, to Labour.

The late Simha Ehrlich, who held the agriculture portfolio while also serving as deputy premier, worked with Shamir, but in August last year Lipka, a lawyer active in the Liberal Party and close to Grupper, was made deputy director-general. He had no experience whatsoever of lands administration. Six months after his appointment he actually started work, in the ILA's inspectorate division.

Shamir has been involved in land settlement and reclamation since arriving in the country in 1947 and has lived in three moshavim: Shoshana, Shear Yashuv and Beit Zavit. He fathered the idea of the Galilee "lookout" settlements (*mitzpin*) and saw the project through to implementation.

Grupper is understood to be planning several high-level changes in the Ministry of Agriculture as well.

Considered next on the firing line is deputy director-general Amikam Shapira, an aide to Grupper's predecessor, the late fellow Liberal Simha Ehrlich. Shapira is also a party member, but is not close to the new minister. Shapira has reportedly agreed to leave the Agriculture Ministry and is looking for a suitable job elsewhere.

## Artificial insemination for singles

By LEA LEVAVI  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Artificial insemination is now available to single women who wish to have babies, according to a story in the current issue of *Na'ama* magazine, published by the Histadrut women's organization.

Assaf Harofeh Hospital gynecology deputy-director Dr. Jan Rokovsky confirmed in the report that a 41-year-old single woman recently gave birth there following artificial insemination.

Guidelines handed down several months ago by the Health Ministry do not mention marital requirements for women seeking artificial insemination, another doctor told *The Jerusalem Post*, and policy on the matter is set by each hospital.

The *Na'ama* story also describes a new technique of do-it-yourself artificial insemination for couples who cannot engage in normal sexual intercourse because of the man's impotence, or other reasons.

The method employs a funnel-shaped device which receives the man's sperm in a tank and allows the woman, using a syringe, to inject it into her uterus. If the sperm is injected within a half hour of the man's ejaculation, chances for pregnancy are as good as in normal intercourse.

This method is already being used in England and the U.S., but has not yet been introduced here.



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# Men At War

## From Beirut to Grenada, The Price of Power Rises

By HEDRICK SMITH

WASHINGTON

One central principle has animated President Reagan's foreign policy, it has been the urge to confront and contain Soviet Communism. For nearly three years, that policy has found expression in strident talk about Moscow's "evil empire," an ambitious military buildup, and the show of American power on maneuver in Central America.

Now one watershed week of the Reagan Presidency has brought a qualitative change. The President's tactics have escalated. His policy is now embodied not just in words and arms, but in combat and casualties. The cost in American lives has sown seeds for political controversy over the price of projecting power abroad. It has raised questions as to whether the Administration is trying to force the country to shed post-Vietnam restraints and assume a worldwide policeman's role.

This fall, Mr. Reagan's foreign policy has entered a more assertive and venturesome phase. In Beirut, the painful and still incomplete toll of 229 American marines and sailors lost in the bombing of their barracks-headquarters last Sunday was an unanticipated byproduct of deepening American entanglement in Lebanon's factional wars. In Grenada, the smaller but still telling count of 11 dead and 67 wounded—as of late yesterday—arose from a deliberate power strike.

The initial rationale in both cases was given more sweeping significance as casualty totals rose. The Marine mission in Lebanon was originally portrayed as a limited peacekeeping task to buttress the frail Christian-led Beirut Government. The Grenada invasion at first was justified as a rescue mission for 1,000 Americans and as proper assistance for neighboring island-states frightened by a brutal leftist takeover. But by week's end, the President defended both operations as necessary to check Soviet threats.

### The Cuban Connection

"The events in Lebanon and Grenada, though oceans apart, are closely related," he said in a televised address. "Not only has Moscow assisted and encouraged violence in both countries, but it provides direct support through a network of surrogates and terrorists." In Lebanon, the labyrinth of internal feuds went unmentioned as the President warned against American timidity and withdrawal. "It won't just be Lebanon sentenced to a future of chaos," he said. "Can the United States or the free world, for that matter, stand by and see the Middle East incorporated into the Soviet bloc?" He made a similar point on the Caribbean: "It is no coincidence that when the thugs tried to wrest control over Grenada, there were 30 Soviet advisers and hundreds of Cuban military and paramilitary forces on the island."

In Grenada, the Soviet Union became more involved than Washington bargained for. Moscow charged that its embassy there was hit by American planes and that one staff member was injured, though the State Department said the embassy had not been fired on. A Soviet warning of "serious consequences" may have been pro forma but it underlined the risks of the tactics of force.

There was a touch of John Wayne blowing the smoke from his pistol when Robert C. McFarlane, the President's usually matter-of-fact national security adviser, told a huddle of reporters in the White House driveway, "We got there just in time." Picking up that note in his speech, the President said the American invasion had nipped a Cuban "occupation" in the bud and prevented Grenada from becoming "a Soviet-Cuban colony" that would export "terror and subversion."

In terms of power politics, Administration officials can make the case that America's world position and credibility are bolstered when a President dares to use armed force as an instrument of policy. Adversaries be-

come more careful and friends are emboldened. Cuba's Fidel Castro has already been dealt a blow, losing his Grenada bridgehead and influence in Central America and the Caribbean. Nicaragua must now tread more carefully. For an Administration in need of a foreign policy victory, Grenada offered what Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Republican of Maryland, called "a digestible, bite-sized" target, although it proved harder to chew than anticipated. With armed Cubans retreating into the hills, 6,000 American troops could be hard-pressed to quit the island in "a matter of weeks," as officials predicted.

Moscow may be less impressed with the power play in Grenada if, as many experts fear, American force proves impotent in Lebanon. Many critics suggest that in Lebanon, Mr. Reagan has engaged military power in the wrong place and that this may eventually overshadow any short-term gains in Grenada.

Former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger has argued that internal political developments have been eroding the authority of the Beirut Government and that only substantially larger American forces allied with Israel could halt the trend toward pro-Syrian elements. Many in Congress fear that no amount of American force can prop up a Christian-led Government in a predominantly Moslem country and that as long as American marines are identified with that effort, they will be the target of Moslem terrorists.

The President's options are restrained by a wary Congress and public and by the rising concern of Pentagon brass that military resources are already overtaxed. Mr. Reagan has put 1,600 marines in Beirut and up to 6,000 troops in Grenada—small numbers among the more than two million people in uniform. But they are supported by battleships, aircraft carriers and other offshore protection while many forces are tied up permanently in such places as West Germany, South Korea and other bases around the world.

The net effect of commitments in new areas is to create real if unspoken limits on the President's strategy of force. Strategists contend military resources were stretched thin even before Mr. Reagan's activism. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, President Carter added the Persian Gulf to the European and Japan-Korea zones America must defend. By adding Lebanon, Central America and the Caribbean to the growing list of "vital interests," Mr. Reagan has prompted Congress to challenge him by moving to invoke a 60-day limit on his use of force in Grenada.

More broadly, the President has risked reviving fears that he is bellicose and trigger-happy. Britain, France and West Germany, among many others, challenged the wisdom or legality of Grenada. In the United Nations Security Council, the United States stood alone. Some Republican senators accused the President of for-

getting the moral right to attack the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., a stalwart on Lebanon said he was "frightened" by Grenada. "We can't go the route of gunboat diplomacy," he warned bluntly.

White House officials last week cited heavily favorable telephone calls and Mr. Reagan's improved standing in opinion polls as dividends of his boldness. This is the historical pattern. At the outset of most foreign policy crises, the public rallies patriotically around the President. It is the long-run assessment that counts.

Some saw in the rift in the Grenadian Government the signs of a rivalry between Cuban and Soviet influences in the country. Mr. Bishop, a close ally of Fidel Castro, seemed content with an evolution to socialism at a moderate pace; he had even visited Washington earlier this year, expressing interest in improving ties with the United States. Bernard Coard, his vice minister, who was closer to the Russians, favored more radical action and appears to have initiated the coup that led to Mr. Bishop's death. Now there is no government in Grenada, only a governor general who represents Queen Elizabeth II as the head of state. The United States and the Caribbean islands, which liberated Governor General Sir Paul Scoon from house arrest, appear to be relying on him to form a provisional government that would later hold elections.

**What Happens to Dialogue?**

There was a widespread belief that Mr. Reagan was trying to send a message to Nicaragua, whose warm relationship with Cuba has provoked only slightly less hostility from its neighbors and from the United States than Grenada did. The Nicaraguans, already made nervous by attacks from United States-backed rebels, moved in the United Nations Security Council to condemn the action. A resolution sponsored by Nicaragua, Zimbabwe and Guyana that demanded an end to the invasion was vetoed by the United States. How effective the message may be remains to be seen; the unexpected difficulty the United States had in overcoming a relatively small force on a tiny island could cause Washington to hesitate about taking on the more powerful Nicaraguans.

But Fidel Castro acknowledged last week he could not help Nicaragua if it were invaded. Whether in Nicaragua, Grenada or Suriname, things were not going Cuba's way. The relative moderation it was displaying seemed to reflect its limitations.

Another question is what Mr. Reagan's overt military action will do to diplomatic options in the region, such as the continuing efforts of the Contadora Group, the four Latin American negotiators to which the United States has generally left the lead in seeking a peaceful



Department of Defense via United Press International

### A Turbulent Week

#### Sunday, Oct. 23

Suicidal terrorist drives TNT-laden truck through flimsy barricades into headquarters of Marine peacekeeping force in Beirut and blows it up. Initial reports put number of dead at 161 and wounded at 75 but many lie buried under rubble. Similar attack destroys Beirut headquarters of French force; toll initially put at 27 dead, 13 wounded and 48 missing. Suspicions center on terrorist groups connected with Iran.

#### Monday, Oct. 24

American death toll in Beirut climbs to 191. Questions arise over the outpost's security and rationale for maintaining Marines in Lebanon. Mr. Reagan calls their presence "central to our credibility on a global scale."

#### Tuesday, Oct. 25

Caribbean island of Grenada, site of a coup the previous week, is invaded by 1,900 American marines and Army Rangers and a few hundred troops from nearby Caribbean island. Force meets "unexpectedly strong" resistance from Cuban military personnel, most of whom had been working on the construction of a new airport. Six Americans are reported killed. In Lebanon toll of American dead climbs to 216.

#### Wednesday, Oct. 26

Havana says Cuban resistance on Grenada ends, and Grenadian Army headquarters is captured, but invaders still meet fire from troops identified mainly as Cuban. Strong criticism of the American action from the Soviet bloc, Western Europe and Latin America. Vice President Bush visits Beirut; American deaths stand at 219, French deaths at 53.

#### Thursday, Oct. 27

Describing Grenada as a "Soviet-Cuban colony" ready to export terrorism, President Reagan tells country "we got there just in time." Invaders use artillery and air strikes to overcome resistance. U.S. casualties rise to 11 dead and 67 wounded. Total number of Cubans was put at 1,100; 30 killed, 638 taken prisoner.

#### Friday, Oct. 28

Fighting against Grenadian and Cuban holdouts in the mountains could go on for days or weeks, the American commander says. Senate votes 64-20 to require President to withdraw forces from Grenada within 60 days under War Powers Act.

#### Saturday, Oct. 29

While more than 5,000 Americans chase 300 to 600 Cuban and Grenadian holdouts through the hills, St. George's is attacked by footers and arsonists. In Beirut, the American death toll is at 229 and still mounting. While sifting through the rubble, the marines contend with renewed sniper attacks.

solution to Central America's conflicts.

One possibility, diplomats in the region said, is that it could improve the likelihood of more serious talks by making clearer Washington's willingness to undertake other options. But some officials posed another possibility: That having demonstrated its readiness to act to protect its interests in the face of international opposition, the Reagan Administration may now have to enter talks directly or declare them superfluous.

## A Wave of Anxiety Washes the Caribbean

By RICHARD J. MEISLIN

MEXICO CITY

THE disquiet in the eastern Caribbean over tiny Grenada's new Marxist revolutionary rulers was transformed last week into disquiet throughout the hemisphere over the United States reaction to them. By sending in more than 3,000 troops to topple the "brutal group of leftist thugs" who had seized power and killed Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, President Reagan opened a new range of questions about the way the United States sees its role in the area.

The first landing of United States troops in the Caribbean since 1965 came after the Reagan Administration and the little-known Organization of Eastern Caribbean States decided that while they had been able to live with the moderate Marxism of Prime Minister Bishop, they could not live with the harsher doctrine and apparently more vicious style of the men who had taken over.

The action found support from the British common-

wealth nations in the Caribbean, who were made nervous by Grenada's increasing leftward bent and growing ties with Cuba. But no support came from the Caribbean nations that are of French and Spanish origin and farther from the eastern Caribbean both geographically and politically. And the action met considerable opposition elsewhere in Latin America, where some countries hold long, bitter memories of United States incursions into their territories.

"The invasion of Grenada is reminiscent of the occupation of Veracruz in 1914, and we can therefore understand that island-nation's situation," said Fidel Valesquez, Mexico's chief labor leader. The Mexican Government said the action would "aggravate the situation in the Caribbean and Central America and create new dangers" in the region.

Concern appeared, too, in the former Dutch colony of Suriname. The leftist Government, which also came to power in a coup, seemed to have second thoughts about its close ties with the Cubans. Expressing fears of a repetition of Mr. Bishop's demise, the Government expelled the Cuban Ambassador, suspended its agreements with Cuba and downgraded the status of the Cuban diplomatic mission.

The official reasons initially given by Mr. Reagan for the invasion raised doubts even among friendly nations in the region. Many officials and diplomats doubted that the President's primary concern had been the safety of the medical students and other United States citizens on the island.

Instead, they saw in the invasion a reflection of his views of the East-West conflict on an island close to home. Mr. Reagan's characterization of the island Thursday in his television address as "a Soviet-Cuban colony" tended to

More on the domestic  
and foreign implications  
of Grenada and Lebanon

2,3



# White House Tactics Could Be Costly Next Year

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

WASHINGTON  
**R**ONALD REAGAN began his political life almost two decades ago, rising from the ashes of the Goldwater Presidential candidacy and slowly building a constituency around a glowing core of anti-Communist rhetoric that powered him ultimately to the White House. And leaning on that basic theme he'll survive politically, if he can, as the incumbent accountable no longer just for stump rhetoric but for actions with mortal implications against a force he measured in global proportions.

Last week, just when the President's political advisers were congratulating themselves for having avoided the sort of passive foreign-policy blunders that left the Carter White House paralyzed with the Iranian hostage crisis, Mr. Reagan, the modern President most identified with military preparedness, suffered the grievous destruction of the Marine Corps headquarters in Beirut. And just when they thought there had been an easing of his career-long stereotyping as a politician eager for physical confrontation with international rivals, Mr. Reagan became the candidate-President who ordered the secretive invasion of Grenada.

In a matter of days, the whiff of summit possibilities and the profile in moderation that some Administration optimists sensed as a campaign theme seemed to have evaporated. Ronald Reagan was back to basics, rallying "round the flag with fans and critics back to old enthusiasms and doubts. "This may be President Reagan's finest hour," said Richard A. Viguerie, the conservative polemicist and fundraiser. "Are we looking for a war we can win?" asked Senator Lawton Chiles, Democrat of Florida.

The initial opinion polls after the President's Thursday television address, in which he sought to bridge the two crises with warnings of ubiquitous Soviet troublemaking, left the White House ebullient. A New York Times/CBS News Poll showed no significant lessening of the President's approval, increased support for the presence of troops in Lebanon and approval of the presence of American forces on Grenada. The White House staff staged a pro-Reagan demonstration in his own backyard, cheering and applauding the smiling President as he left for Camp David at the end of the grim week.

But his political strategists had the harder questions of the long run to deal with: How could there ever be a show of the marines coming home from Lebanon in time for the 1984 Election Day if their fate is now to be tied to the stability of Lebanon, where violence dates to the Crusades? Would the Grenada invasion — seemingly a general's dream of lopsided odds in a sealed arena — spawn more protracted, troublesome guerrilla resistance from Cubans there or elsewhere in the Caribbean chain? White House officials insisted the notion of re-election was never allowed to figure in the week's harrowing events and decisions. But there was a quadrennial eeriness to the timing, and Mr. Reagan himself, defending the invasion as necessary to protect Americans on Grenada, declared, "The nightmare of our hostages in Iran must never be repeated."

## Congressional Countermoods

Within two days of the invasion, Congressional complaint was mounting and machinery was under way in both houses again to confront the President through the War Powers Act with a mandate to remove the Grenada troops within 60 days unless Congress specifically authorizes them to stay. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., who like many in both parties and both houses had withheld criticism at first, said that Mr. Reagan made his "usual elegant performance" in addressing the nation. Then he turned sharply. "To be perfectly truthful, his policy scares me," Mr. O'Neill said. "We can't go the way of gunboat diplomacy. His policy is wrong. His policy is frightening."

Yesterday, Senate Majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr., Republican of Tennessee, who earlier had offered an amendment praising the President, joined Minority leader Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia, in a call for a Congressional fact-finding mission to Grenada. "What I am concerned about," Mr. Byrd said, "is that we weren't given all the facts apparently at the beginning."

The grueling week began with an indulgence of the "Eisenhower model" cherished by Mr. Reagan's image makers, the attempt to depict a self-assured incumbent. Indeed, he was down in the Augusta National Golf Course in Georgia, staying in Mr. Eisenhower's old cottage and playing golf. But he was already planning the Grenada invasion even as he strolled the course. Within the next seven days, Mr. Reagan was using his master's talent for narrative reading and patriotic pleading to vividly depict Grenada and Lebanon as an unavoidable joint investment in protecting the free world.

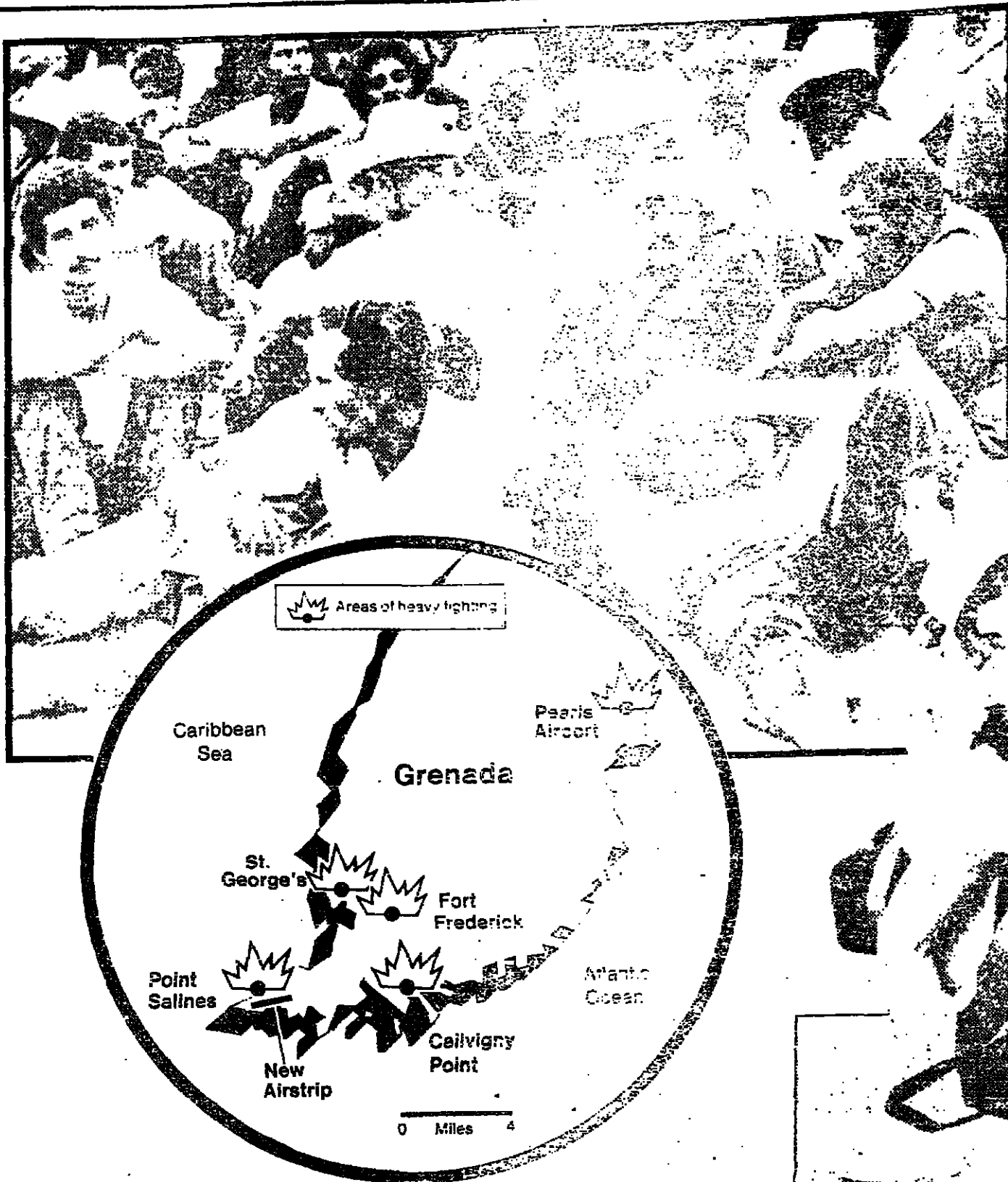
## A Year of Politics Ahead

By Friday, the first bodies were arriving home, and a year of domestic politics lay ahead. Symbols of the tragically altered world of Washington abounded.

There was William Clark, the former national security adviser who helped build the Lebanon strategy — the man whose tough attitude toward world trouble was summarized by his cowboy hat and heirloom six-shooter — kneeling in church with a rosary in hand as he prayed for the dead in Lebanon. There was Larry Speakes, the White House official who speaks for the President, privately warning the Administration about a credibility problem while publicly criticizing reporters for complaining about the sparse information funneled through the Pentagon's invasion hierarchy.

This may have been the first modern war where the United States sought to compensate for its blackout on professional news gathering by offering its own military's television footage that depicted the invaders in a positive light. The way the information policy worked, the Administration, with Mr. Speakes pleading ignorance each day on most details, thus shifted the focus from the Commander in Chief at the White House to the field commanders at the Pentagon.

By the week's end, President Reagan himself was emphasizing his "heartfelt thanks" for the flow of letters and telegrams to the White House, especially, he said, those on Grenada and the invasion force "performing so magnificently." In the Administration's attempt to entwine the two crises, Grenada clearly was being rated the more positive politically, and Administration officials noted that Mr. Reagan would not be greeting the first shipment of bodies and wounded returning Friday from Lebanon. Instead, the President left for his retreat at Camp David.



Cubans captured by U.S. forces near the Point Salines airport in Grenada; students from St. George's University School of Medicine arriving in Charleston, S.C., last week.

# In Europe, Ammunition for Anti-Americanism

By JOHN VINOCUR

PARIS  
**O**VERNIGHT last week, every West European who sees the United States as an unreliable, belligerent, immoral ally had found seemingly perfect justification in the United States invasion of Grenada. Overnight too, every West European who regards American missiles less as protection than as a threat to his safety considered his arguments had been bolstered.

Governments defending cruise and Pershing 2 missile deployment, scheduled to start in a few weeks, felt compelled to express disapproval of the United States intervention. The West Germans, among others, insisted they were not convinced in advance, a brusque and unsettling precedent. For Britain, where prior discussion had taken place, there was the Reagan Administration's disregard of a friend's advice to stay out. When the United Nations Security Council voted, 11 to 1, to deplore the intervention, its best friends left the United States isolated as it reversed the measure.

It mattered little that the week brought gaffes and

embarrassment for the Soviet Union, notably three reported defections — a journalist denouncing a "return to Stalinism," the son of Valentin Falin, a key Soviet propagandist, and a general believed to have fled to the United States via Turkey — as well as two expulsions of Soviet diplomats from Belgium for spying. These would normally have been headline events, but next to the political damage Washington's main allies believe the invasion has caused them, the Soviet clumsiness was reduced to gnat-in-a-china shop dimensions.

The extent of the damage to the Atlantic alliance is likely to hinge on how long it takes the Americans to leave Grenada. The more the time and trouble, the simpler the comparisons become between Grenada and Afghanistan. In addition, internal political forces in the three countries that are the main American allies, Britain, France, and West Germany, influence the degree of domestic interest in each country in pressing the issue.

Important differences in attitude were apparent. In France, after the Government condemned the invasion, there seemed to be a willingness not to pursue the matter. Outrage, feigned or real, was rare. Grenada was off the front pages of three of the country's four national newspapers by Friday. France gives priority to its engagements in Lebanon and Chad. It is privately concerned about growing Cuban influence on the French Caribbean island of Guadeloupe. And the Government is unwilling to encourage people President François Mitterrand refers to as Western Europe's pacifists and neutralists.

## Brandt Sees a Parallel

The appreciation of pure power politics is much stronger in France than in Britain or West Germany. Michel Debré, who made a career out of anti-Americanism as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister under Charles de Gaulle, felt completely at ease last week in saying, "The American President acted according to a justified conception of the world situation. Manifesting the power of the United States is an important element for the Soviet leadership to contemplate. Therefore it's completely normal that a great power with the means to do so would avoid allowing an additional difficulty at its doorstep."

But in West Germany, the Social Democratic opposition, which is openly fighting deployment of the missiles, was unlikely to let go easily. Willy Brandt, the party chairman, took the Grenada invasion as confirming his contention the superpowers act essentially alike. He immediately compared Grenada to Afghanistan, a significant measure of the party's attitude toward the United States and the Soviet Union. In 1980, Herbert Wehner, then the party parliamentary whip and one of its most influential voices, explained Soviet action in Afghanistan as defensive and pre-emptive in nature.

In any case, the invasion was a severe blow for the Government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, increasingly described by European diplomats as short of energy and ideas. Mr. Kohl has been waging the missile battle on the level of public perception of American and Soviet reliability, rather than on long-term strategic issues. Grenada, for the Christian Democrats, carried negative weight comparable to the Reagan Administration's talk in 1981 of limited nuclear war in Europe. The invasion, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said, has affected West Germany "both psychologically and politically."

In Britain, with its strongly felt Commonwealth ties, the American action was as painful for Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as for Mr. Kohl. Although the Conservatives insisted the analogy was a false one, the opposition asked what kind of brake Mrs. Thatcher's supposedly close relationship with President Reagan would be if he decided on his own to fire cruise missiles soon to be based in Britain. Parliament will continue the debate tomorrow.

Last weekend, the West European Governments seemed to be riding out large-scale antimissile demonstrations without serious damage. For some of them, Grenada may have given an unwelcome second life to the "hot autumn" they feared.

# Squaring International Law With Political Imperatives

By STUART TAYLOR JR.

WASHINGTON  
**D**OES anything that deserves the name "international law" govern the use of military force? Last week's invasion of Grenada raised the question anew, as Reagan Administration lawyers and critics fenced with citations of treaties and charters, a familiar exchange in any shooting war.

The Administration's shifting legal rationale for reconciling the invasion with nonintervention provisions of the United Nations and Organization of American States charters seemed barely plausible to many allies abroad and legal experts at home. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., in expressing his fears of Administration policy, said the invasion was probably an illegal exercise in "gunboat diplomacy."

But not all legal experts saw it as bad policy. Such authorities as Don Wallace Jr., director of the International Law Institute at Georgetown University Law Center, said the episode showed the rules are inadequate. On occasion, he and others argued, good policy may require violating the rules or offering interpretations that bend treaty language. Washington cannot, they said, protect its interests as a great power and still comply with a literal reading of the United Nations Charter in the face of Soviet aggression and subversion, and internal repression by regimes of every stripe. If the Russians "insist on violating these rules," said Prof. Eugene V. Rostow of Yale Law School, "then pretty soon we're going to start violating them."

"Although I don't think we can square what we did in Grenada with the UN Charter system," Mr. Wallace said, "it may be that the system is now somewhat out of date." While it was not clear whether the situation in Grenada had been sufficiently threatening to the lives of Americans and the peace of the neighboring islands to warrant invasion on any grounds, "the policy justification was a more substantial than the legal justification," he said in defending legality, "we're forced into a sort of hypocrisy which embarrasses people who believe in the rule of law."

The charters of the Organization set up with American encouragement after World War II prohibit use of military force against a sovereign state, except in self-defense against "armed attack" or in collective peacekeeping actions by regional bodies with the "authorization of the Security Council." No authority has the power to interpret and enforce these rules, given the paralysis of the Security Council by the Soviet and American vetoes. The International Court of Justice in the Hague lacks power to enforce the rules against war. In a world avowedly with aggression, provisions of the international charters purporting to outlaw war are cited and ignored.

If international law has any force, it is as a set of clear, ideologically neutral principles commanding such wide respect that world republics can be mobilized against violators. By that standard, the United States claim as guardian of the rule of law in international affairs took a beating. Most of the United Nations Security Council and the world condemned the Grenada invasion. A quick operation to expel the Americans in danger would have been easier to justify. But President Reagan has bigger goals — restoring a Cuban-influenced military regime to the Grenada government.

State Department lawyers said obligations under nonintervention provisions of the international charters were overridden by "self-defense" provisions in a little-noticed 1981 pact signed by seven tiny Caribbean island-states, the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States. A handful of the pact's members invited Washington to invade.

Until last week, Washington had not based its case on so narrow a group. The rationale, largely rejected in Latin America, seemed adaptable to a future invasion of Nicaragua, for example. If neighbors were to request it, many legal experts said the Administration's interpretations would give a hollow ring to American denunciations of the "Brezhnev doctrine," the Soviet justification for invasions that re-established its control in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and installed a subversive regime in Afghanistan in 1979.

This was no, to equate the United States with the Soviet Union. Compliance with international law is a matter of degree. Mr. Reagan has pledged to pull out of Grenada promptly and let the democratic process take its course. Fulfillment of that pledge would limit the damage to the frayed fabric of international law.



The New York Times: Paul Hefner  
President Reagan addressing the nation last week.

## and a United States Invasion in the Caribbean Have Worldwide Repercussions

هكذا من النحل

Marines removing the body of a comrade from the ruins of demolished Marine Battalion Landing Team building in Beirut last week; Johnnie and Robbie Caesar grieving over their son, Lance Cpl. Johnny Douglas Caesar, who was killed in the explosion.



The New York Times/Ingeborg Lippman; Associated Press

## Lebanon Situation Redefined by Bombings

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

**B**EIRUT, Lebanon — A yellow Mercedes truck, 2,000 pounds of TNT and a suicide driver who smiled all the way to his death changed the face of Lebanese politics last week. The near-simultaneous bombings of the Marine and French peacekeeping forces, which killed at least 230 Americans and 56 French paratroopers, sent out waves that will reverberate through this area for months to come.

For both the Americans and the French, the bomb-

ings brought into stark relief a basic flaw in their "peacekeeping" mission, a flaw that could haunt them as long as they are here. They have come to help build a strong army and central government in a country that still has not emerged politically from the Middle Ages into the era of modern nation-states. Lebanon is still run primarily by a collection of feudal lords who insist on retaining their power and privileges at the expense of the central Government. The Marines and French paratroopers came to Lebanon to support the "center" and are discovering that in Lebanon there is no center. There are only factions and to support one faction over others is to invite attacks.

The most frightening thing to people here about the twin bombings has not been the grotesque devastation they wrought — the Lebanese have long been numb to such things — but the subliminal message they seemed to convey: that it is possible that the fate of Lebanon will ultimately be determined not by the national reconciliation conference opening tomorrow in Geneva, or any other negotiations, but by underground forces so violent and powerful that they can strike simultaneously and devastatingly at two great powers.

So on the eve of the Geneva talks, one finds a mood of quiet desperation here, a sense of "what does it all matter anyway?" If neither the American Marines nor the French paratroopers can protect themselves, many ask, how can the politicians and warlords gathered around a negotiating table, after arguing lengthily about the site, determine this country's fate in any meaningful and lasting way?

That is precisely what the Americans, the French, the Italians and the British, who make up the multinational peacekeeping force here, are asking them to do. That is why the Christian and Moslem politicians participating in the negotiations now carry a heavier burden than they did before the bomb attack. The foreign ministers of the four outside powers met in Paris last week. While they reiterated their support for the peacekeeping mission and the Government of President Amin Gemayel, they also made it plain that they wanted to see substantial progress at Geneva this week.

This indicated a growing awareness among the peacekeeping nations of their dilemma. They have become linked — perhaps even hostages — to the eight-year-old Lebanese conflict, just as the Syrians and Israelis did. Many believe they can disengage from Lebanon with dignity only after the conflict is solved.

What are the prospects of that happening in Geneva? Some Western diplomats believe the bombing and the international pressure may have a sobering effect on the participants. It may even encourage them at least to tone down their rhetoric and effect a reconciliation of people if not of ideas. That alone would improve the prospects for national détente enormously. But even that may be asking too much. None of the parties to the talks can be expected to give up their military positions and political autonomy except in exchange for an impossible total satisfaction of their demands.

## Force Outweighs Dialogue

The lesson of history here is that radical political changes have taken place only through force, not dialogue. Here again, the bombings have changed the picture somewhat. On the one hand, they have left the Syrians looking stronger, because the Americans seem to need them all the more. The Reagan Administration knows that Syrian cooperation is essential if the Geneva meeting is to succeed and become the basis for an American troop withdrawal. But American officials in the region are still confused over exactly what the inscrutable Syrian President, Hafez el-Assad, really wants and whether he will use his influence over the various parties to facilitate the talks or torpedo them.

The bombing has not been all to the advantage of the Syrians, however. In his television address last week, President Reagan appeared to suggest that as a result of the attacks, the United States might look to Israel as a club with which to beat the Syrians over the head. The threat has not been lost on Damascus, which has been conducting large-scale military maneuvers for the last two weeks. Although the Syrians are not really afraid of the United States — they feel the Soviet Union would back them in any confrontation and the Americans would be unwilling to take casualties and to play dirty in a distant war — Israel does present a real threat.

Israel is the permanent factor in the Lebanese equation. It has Lebanese surrogates of its own through which it could undermine Syrian influence and it has never been afraid to play by Syria's roughhouse rules. How the Israelis respond in the coming weeks to developments inside Lebanon may be the most critical factor in determining the limits to Syria's influence in the peace talks and on the ground.

## Syria's Ambitions May Not Leave Room for Moscow's

By FLORA LEWIS

**I**N the Middle East these days, each country is looking nervously over its shoulder at the others, trying to calculate what they will do next and how to respond. But rarely is there mention of the Soviet role. When Moscow does come up, it is almost always in the context of a message to the United States. An argument for support of a national position is buttressed with a warning believed sure to command Washington's attention — watch out or the Russians will win.

Washington seems intent on portraying Syria as a Soviet puppet. "Syria has become a home for 7,000 Soviet advisers and technicians who man a massive amount of Soviet weaponry," President Reagan told a television audience last week. But the assessment of both local officials and Western diplomats in Beirut, Amman, Baghdad, Cairo and Jerusalem is that Damascus is calling its own shots these days, a Syrian tall swollen with ambition waging a cautious Russian dog.

Massive Soviet resupply of Syria has emboldened Damascus to assert long-standing ambitions in Lebanon and elsewhere. When the Ottoman Empire was broken up after World War I, an American commission recommended to President Woodrow Wilson that what is now Lebanon, Jordan and all of Palestine be united under Damascus in the traditional Greater Syria. But Britain and France agreed to carve up the area behind Wilson's back.

Now, the general assumption is that Syria's President Hafez el-Assad wants to restore the old claim, no longer by actual absorption of the successor states but by obliging recognition of Damascene hegemony.

There isn't a consensus, however, on whether Mr. Assad is maneuvering to force the United States out of the area or to force its acknowledgment of Syrian primacy. In Damascus, as elsewhere, it is said he is seeking to be treated by Washington as "the other regional superpower," the equal of Israel.

So dark are the techniques of Syrian policy that little signs have to be studied to gauge the wind. One was the fact that the Syrian President chose to declare former special envoy Philip Habib persona non grata on the unsubstantiated but implied grounds that he deceived Mr. Assad and broke promises.

But Mr. Assad knows too much about Western diplomacy to suppose that Mr. Habib spoke personally, without instructions from Washington. In reacting so roughly to a personal offense, however, he has maintained regular contacts with the Administration through other envoys. He made a point without slamming the door.

In the same way, a speech Mr. Assad made to the graduating class of Syria's Military Academy on Oct. 6, the anniversary of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, which the

Arabs claim as a great victory, gives a hint of an ambivalent attitude toward Moscow.

It was a belligerent speech, extolling the use of military force for "the good of the people" and calling for "martyr's blood." It contained ritual denunciations of United States imperialism. "You are foreigners," Mr. Assad said. "Our Arab issues are internal issues and you have nothing to do with them."

The one passage about the Soviet Union, however, praised Moscow only for its support of Arab causes, such as standing "at our side against Israel."

"Let us tell (the United States)," he said, "that we have our own issues and concerns and combating Communism is not one of them. In our opinion, Communism is an ideology which people can follow or discard."

That could hardly be music to Moscow's ears. It clearly conditions "friendship" on Soviet support for Syria's aims, with no offer to reciprocate. Officials elsewhere in the region believe the Russians have seriously to worry that Mr. Assad will do a deal with the United States if the price is right. Some would favor that, some would oppose. But their alignment has more to do with their own country's expectations of Syria than with their attitude toward Moscow.

## Iraq a Case in Point

The case of Iraq adds point to the predominance of regional rivalries over the East-West conflict in local attitudes. Some, especially the oil-rich but weak states of the Persian Gulf, fear the escalation of superpower confrontations in the area. Others, particularly Iraq and Syria, seem to be attempting the game of Egypt's late Gamal Abdel Nasser in drawing advantage by playing off the superpowers.

Iraq, whose President, Saddam Hussein, is Mr. Assad's main rival and enemy, is also getting a regular flow of Soviet military supplies for its war against Iran. There was a period when the supplies were choked off and Moscow was tilting to Iran, but that has changed again in response to the anti-Soviet stand now being taken in Teheran.

Baghdad, long closely linked with Moscow, is making an effort to diversify its source of arms by buying from Europe. Above all, it needs money and the one available source is the Arab oil states who wouldn't like Iraqi predominance in the Gulf but are more concerned by the possibility of spreading revolutionary fundamentalism should Iran emerge the victor.

Clearly, the Russians would like to break what one high official called the "American monopoly" of Middle East diplomacy now. They haven't made much progress. But that doesn't mean the area's turbulence isn't extremely dangerous. The United States has interests that go well beyond keeping Moscow at bay. The Middle East is especially rich in troubles of its own, quite enough to endanger the rest of the world whatever the Soviet Union is doing.

## The World

## Soviet Seizes the Moment To Make a Missile Offer

In the midst of division among the Western allies over last week's invasion of Grenada, Moscow renewed its campaign to block deployment of new American missiles in Europe.

The Soviet leader, Yuri V. Andropov, apparently advancing his timetable, put forth refinements in Russian arms control offers and threatened to break off "present talks" if deployment begins on schedule in a few weeks.

Mr. Andropov offered to destroy 100 of Russia's SS-20 medium-range missiles, each with three warheads. The remainder, "about 140 SS-20's," he said, would carry about 300 warheads, matching the British and French totals. No new SS-20's would be deployed in Asia, he reiterated, as long as Washington posed no new threats there.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz said Washington wanted to continue the talks "after deployment [even] if there is no agreement before deployment." As for the Andropov offers, President Reagan in his weekly radio address yesterday did not reject them out of hand but stressed that they would allow Moscow to retain SS-20's while denying NATO the possibility of deploying its own missiles.

In the West German Parliament, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher fought off opposition attempts "to use Grenada to drive a wedge between us and our American ally by those who want to find a new reason for opposing NATO and its rocket deployment plan."

Besides their new medium-range missiles, both sides have thousands of shorter-range, or tactical, nuclear weapons deployed in central Europe. Last week, the opposing alliances announced changes in deployment intended to soothe or frighten Europeans. If NATO goes ahead with the cruise missiles and Pershings, Moscow said, it will move additional tactical weapons closer to the West in East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Defense Ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, meanwhile, gave final approval to scrapping one-fourth of NATO's tactical weapons, many of which are considered obsolete. And in Washington, the House of Representatives voted to buy 52 more Pershing 2's as spares, in addition to the 112 already planned.

## Philippine Court Stands Up

Twice last week, President Ferdinand E. Marcos, the Philippines' faltering strongman, was challenged by his own Supreme Court.

The court, showing new independence, first overturned a ban on a demonstration against American military bases, led by an opposition politician. Next, it ordered the release of the mother and sister of Rolando Galmay, who has been accused of killing opposition leader Benigno S. Aquino Jr. The women



Demonstrators in Manila protesting against U.S. bases in the Philippines last week.

had been held in "protective custody" for two months.

Manila city officials had prohibited the march, predicting Communist subversives would disrupt it. But Judge Vicente Abad Santos said it was "paranoid" to blame Communists "whenever anything negative happens." Several hundred people later marched without incident to the American Embassy to deliver a petition calling for the closing of the large American Air Force and Navy bases at Clark Field and Subic Bay.

In Washington, the House of Representatives voted 413 to 3 to call on the Marcos Government to make a "thorough, independent and impartial investigation" of the Aquino assassination.

## Argentina Votes for a Civilian

Under the shadow of a dictator who has been dead for nine years, Argentina is making another stab at democratic civilian rule today with its first presidential election in a decade. The movement established by Juan Domingo Peron, which has provoked two military coups in the past 28 years, is alive and well and its latest leader, Italo Luder, stands a good chance of being elected.

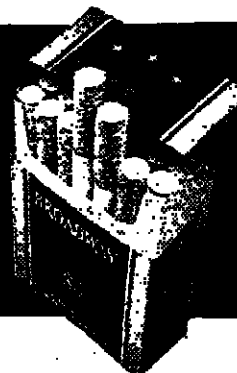
Mr. Luder's challenger, Raul Alfonsín, tried to offset Peronism's magnetism among the poor — the *descamisados* or shirtless ones — by appealing to the middle class. Mr. Alfonsín dwelt on such Peronist hallmarks as autocratic rule, official terrorism and labor corruption and drew large crowds with his fiery style. Mr. Luder is relatively colorless but big portraits of Peron at his rallies were enough to remind the crowds of his heritage. "Peronism until death," a supporter proclaimed at a rally last week in Córdoba. "We have only one leader — Peron — but Luder is part of the doctrine."

The Argentine economy, which Peron helped drive into the ground in the early 1950's, is again in such a parlous state and the population is so alienated that the military appears in a hurry to end its seven years of rule. Today's winner may take office in December rather than in January. If it is Mr. Luder, the generals and admirals are expected to keep a particularly suspicious eye on things.

Milt Freudenheim and Henry Glotzer

BROADWAY 80

WARNING — The Ministry of Health has determined that smoking is harmful to health



I'm glad I changed.



# The Nation

## Early Casualties In Democratic Campaign

While news from abroad dominated the front pages, Democratic contenders for the White House were preoccupied with squabbling among their field commanders.

In the John Glenn campaign last week, J. Joseph Grandmaison, the Ohio Senator's political director and a believer in making a candidate unbeatable by organizing from the precinct up (as he did for George McGovern in New Hampshire in 1972), was forced to hit the silk. Disagreements with campaign manager William R. White, who seems to put more stock in television — including a five-minute spot whose initial airing earlier this month just happened to coincide with the premier of the movie, "The Right Stuff" — were said to be behind the resignation. Farther back in the pack, there were shifts in the entourage of Ernest F. Hollings, the Senator from South Carolina. Bill Keyserling, director of the campaign, which had already



William R. White

shed a handful of assistants recently, resigned and will be replaced by a "management team" including a former party chairman from Mr. Hollings's home state and a businessman from Charleston.

At the same time, the party's high command was bickering with several states, among them Iowa, which wants to remain first with a delegate-selecting caucus, and New Hampshire, which wants to keep the first primary. On Friday, the Democrats' executive committee voted to take charge of the delegate selection machinery in any state that doesn't want to play by party rules.

Yesterday, the full field presented itself to the New Hampshire state convention. In a morning of intrigue before the candidates spoke, they were given, one by one, a "Memorandum of Understanding" in support of the states. Amid hesitations about being caught in a squeeze and imputations that they were weighing personal advantage in a calendar change, six out of the seven signed.

The field — whose members have all agreed to participate in debates before the New Hampshire primary, the League of Women Voters announced last week — may yet grow. The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson is said to be declaring his intentions this week, though close aides said they could

not predict whether he was going to run. The question is particular interest to Former Vice President Mondale, who has been banking on black votes in primaries and caucuses.

## Inflation: Why Some Worry

"Keeping inflation under control," White House spokesman Larry Speakes said last week, "requires constant vigilance."

Right you are. Most specialists considered last week's report of a five-tenths of 1 percent rise in the consumer prices for September a modest acceleration consistent with their moderate expectations. Two economists associated with the Administration were not so sanguine. The mainstream forecast — a 4 percent inflation rate this year, and 5 percent next — said Alan Greenspan, an outside adviser to the White House, doesn't give enough weight to business's appetite for post-recession profits. Lawrence A. Kudlow, top economist in the Office of Management and Budget in 1981-82, has been looking at commodity price and money supply increases, and the sheer strength of the recovery. A 6 percent to 7 percent rate is "the surprise story for 1984," he said.

As for the recovery, there was new evidence of its punch last week and the strongest caution yet on its duration from another Administration dissident, Martin S. Feldstein, whose views on the urgency of tax increases have made him something of an outsider on the inside. Paced by the healthiest manufacturing output in nearly three years, productivity leapt an annual rate of 5 percent in the third quarter; the index of leading indicators, the Government's main forecasting gauge, rose a solid 0.9 percent in September. But budget deficits are "twisting the recovery" and making it "more fragile," Mr. Feldstein, the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, told Congress. The deficit was \$195.3 billion for the fiscal year that ended Sept. 30, the Administration reported last week; it will be \$192 billion for the fiscal year that started Oct. 1, the Congressional Budget Office projected. Mr. Feldstein said deficit control would have to begin before Election Day to avoid a recession after it.

## Chicago Goes Back to School

Chicago teachers, who stayed off the job more than three weeks demanding a 10 percent salary increase, were back in the classroom last week after getting "what we wanted all along," according to their leader, a 5 percent increase.

Mayor Harold Washington praised William J. Usery as "a genius" for having worked out the settlement ratified by the 27,500-member Chicago Teachers Union. The former Secretary of Labor in the Ford Administration was called in to mediate last weekend; he kept negotiators at the table Sunday night until they reached agreement. The teachers will get their raise under a one-year contract that also provides one-time bonuses totaling 2.5 percent. The agreement extends the school year to make up for most of the 16 school days lost to the system's 436,000 students during the city's longest teacher strike ever.

Michael Wright,  
Caroline Rand Herron  
and Carlyle C. Douglas

## Reactor Dies Before It Can Breed

WASHINGTON — Many obituaries have been written for the Clinch River Breeder Reactor since it was first authorized in 1970. But the project's resilience has been worthy of "The Perils of Pauline." For that reason, many on Capitol Hill declined to pronounce the Tennessee project dead after the Senate followed the House's lead and last week rejected another \$1.5 billion considered crucial to its survival.

But if there is an authority on Clinch River's nine lives it is Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., the majority leader in whose home state the reactor would sit. "If there's a glimmer of hope," Mr. Baker said, "it's a faint one." For the past several years, Mr. Baker had almost single-handedly, but by increasingly slim margins, staved off the project's demise. Some analysts attributed last week's 56-40 defeat to his lame-duck status (early this year he announced he was not seeking re-election after his third term). But most believed that the reactor had fallen victim to the near-\$200 billion budget deficit. After sacrificing social programs on the altar of fiscal austerity, the lawmakers

were hard-pressed to justify continued funding of a project that was considered by many as a pork-barrel, despite President Reagan's support of it as an alternate energy source. A last-ditch effort to save the program, through a private funding effort that would have netted \$1 billion lost, on the argument that the arrangement was a sweetheart deal that would ultimately enrich private investors at taxpayers' expense.

Supporters of the project noted that \$1.7 billion had already been spent on site preparation and fabrication of machinery and other parts and placed the total cost at \$4.1 billion. They argued that the reactor would provide the nation with needed technology to become energy self-sufficient. Opponents placed the cost at \$8.5 billion, and warned that in addition to being costly and unnecessary, it could lead to nuclear proliferation. That was the ground on which President Carter had opposed the reactor; it would produce, or "breed," more plutonium than it used.

Shortly after Wednesday's vote, the Energy Department announced that it would begin an "orderly termination."

— MARTIN TOLCHIN

## A Congressional Promise on Spending Goes By the Boards

# For Its Size, Deficit Gets Little Weight



Senate Finance Committee members Malcolm Wallop (left), Bob Dole, John C. Danforth and David L. Boren discussing deficit reduction package last week.

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

WASHINGTON — Last spring, Congress adopted a budget with a simple promise. Before the end of July, by cutting spending and increasing taxes, the lawmakers would reduce the Federal deficit by \$95 billion over three years.

Three times since then, that deadline has been moved. It is now set for tomorrow. Last week, as the deadline approached, Senator Lawton Chiles proposed an amendment to a bill that would raise the national debt ceiling \$225.6 billion, to \$1.61 trillion. Under the Florida Democrat's plan, the ceiling would not rise and the Government could not borrow more money until Congress lived up to its pledge. The rider lost, almost 2 to 1.

The fate of Mr. Chiles's proposal reflected a fact of life. Congress seems incapable of making a major dent in the deficit, even though the annual shortfall threatens to hover near \$200 billion and throttle the economic recovery. "There seems to be a paralysis," said Senator Pete V. Domenici, the New Mexico Republican who is chairman of the Budget Committee. "There seems to be a growing notion that deficits don't matter, and a growing willingness to gamble until after the next election."

Like many lawmakers, Mr. Domenici fears that Congress, and the President, will lose that economic gamble. Yet as the events of the week

demonstrated, if Congress is not paralyzed by the deficit, it is barely able to move its fingers and toes. The \$85 billion of budget reduction included \$12 billion in spending cuts; the House adopted a bill cutting about \$10.3 billion, mostly through delaying cost-of-living increases for Federal workers and pensioners.

But a bill that takes an additional \$1.7 billion out of Medicare, one of the major "entitlement" programs through which benefits go automatically to all qualified participants, faced trouble from the powerful doctors lobby. Rapid growth in these programs is a major cause of the budget deficit, and every legislator admits privately that one of these days, Congress must get a handle on them. Still, even this tiny attempt on Medicare could well fail.

## The Bond Lobby

The biggest chunk of the deficit shrinkage package was supposed to be \$73 billion in new tax revenues. The House Ways and Means Committee could agree on a bill that accounts for only \$10 billion of that target. One provision of the bill would raise money by limiting the use of industrial revenue bonds by the states. These bonds are very popular; the bill was kept off the House floor last week out of concern that the revenue raising measure could get clobbered.

There was no shortage of additional tax plans. Representative Dan Rostenkowski, the Chicago

Democrat who is chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, proposed a freeze on new tax breaks scheduled to take effect in January. A group of liberal Democrats in the House advanced a minimum corporate tax. Senator Bob Dole, the Kansas Republican who is chairman of the Finance Committee, proposed \$56 billion in assorted new revenues as part of a \$120 billion package of deficit remedies. Reaction was cautious. The legislators are not likely to move without the shield of Presidential approval of a substantial tax package. As expected, the White House called the Dole plan "unacceptable."

Most Congressional experts agree that there is only one other way to make a significant impact on the deficit: slash defense spending. But the \$247 billion for the Pentagon for 1984 found smooth sailing on the House floor last week as efforts to eliminate money for the Pershing 2 missile were defeated. This week, budget-minded snipers will be aiming at the MX missile and other expensive weapons systems, all of which are expected to survive.

The explanations for the paralysis begin and probably end with politics. All the choices available for closing the budget gap are unpleasant and unpopular, and neither the legislators nor the President want to arm an opponent a year before election. "The Presidential campaign has gotten under way," Representative James R. Jones complained. "We're not getting any leadership from either end of Pennsylvania Avenue." Mr. Jones has proposed an economic summit, at which Mr. Reagan and Congressional leaders could hammer out a deficit reduction package. "It's the only way I can think of to move things off dead center," the Oklahoma Democrat who heads the Budget Committee said. But he holds out little hope for the plan.

Another difficulty is that while the deficit poses a threat to recovery, the economy has not yet begun to feel the pinch. So the lawmakers do not feel the pinch either. "When there is a recovery, it's very tough to go back to people and ask them to sacrifice more," said Representative Leon A. Panetta, Democrat of California. And Representative Dick Cheney, Republican of Wyoming, noted that even the most ardent budget balancers turn suddenly cautious when their own interests are at stake. "A lot of folks are hypocritical," he said. "They think fiscal responsibility means cutting other people's programs."

Yet another factor in Congress's lethargy is the fact that President Reagan and his Treasury Secretary, Donald T. Regan, have abjured traditional Republican dogma and announced that budget deficits do not really matter very much.

Curiously enough, each party also seems to believe that it can score points by blaming the deficit on the other guy. Mr. Reagan began his most recent news conference with an attack on Democratic Administrations of the past, and the Democrats seldom miss a chance to remind voters that Ronald Reagan came to Washington promising to balance the budget. Accordingly, Congress seems ready to "muddle through," as Mr. Cheney put it. Representative Panetta holds out only one possibility for action. "We've got to have a crisis," he said. "A slowdown in the economy, interest rates going up, something to tell the public that deficits do, indeed, bite."

## Political Action Committees Mean Job Security for New Arrivals

# House Freshmen Take the Money to Run

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

WASHINGTON — In December, when they gathered at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government for orientation seminars, many of the newly elected members of Congress found considerable disagreement on Social Security, the arms race, the Middle East and the economy. But one topic that found agreement was the need to curb the influence of political action committees.

Now, less than a year later, the freshman legislators are courting the PAC's, as the committees are known, with remarkable success, on the average attracting three times as much committee money as more senior members. According to a New York Times survey, 16 have accepted more than \$30,000 each in committee funds and one, Representative Bill Richardson, Democrat of New Mexico, has accepted nearly \$72,000, about 10 times as much as the median for all House members.

"A lot of them ran against incumbents who got more PAC money than they did as challengers," said Tom Baker, who oversees a committee for the National Association of Home Builders. "I suspect that the minute they get here they try to do something about it." Buildpac contributed to 20 of the 25 leading freshmen recipients.

Political action committees date from the 1950's, but before 1974, businesses and labor groups that had Federal contracts were prohibited from sponsoring the committees. When that stricture was removed, the number of committees increased from 608 to 3,400 this year.

The median receipts for the 80 House freshmen in the first six months of 1983 is \$15,497, considerably above the median for all other House members, \$5,115.

First-term Republicans received considerably more from the committees last year, when they were campaigning for House seats, than did their Democratic counterparts. Now that they are in the House, however, the difference between parties has narrowed.

The result is that first-year Congressmen, who came to Washington with the smallest stake in the established campaign finance apparatus now find that they are part of the system itself. "It is a tragedy of the system," said Fred Wertheimer, president of Common Cause, a public affairs lobby. "The concept of 'Mr. Smith Goes to Washington' is gone. The fresh faces still come to town, but because of the costs of campaigns, people have to raise large sums of money before they even get here. Before you even walk in the door of the United States Congress, you are faced head-on with the PAC problem in its starkest sense: You need them to get there, you need them to pay off your debts."

Indeed, campaign debts are one of the major reasons that freshman legislators seek assistance from the panels. A study conducted by Common Cause found that 75 of the freshmen owed a total of \$5.3 million at the end of 1982. By June 30,

## On the receiving end

Freshman Congressmen ranked by PAC receipts in first six months of 1983

| Congressman           | Party and state | PAC receipts |
|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Bill Richardson       | D., N.M.        | \$72,000     |
| John Bryant           | D., Tex.        | \$30,000     |
| Robert G. Torricelli  | D., N.J.        | \$25,000     |
| John McCain           | R., Ariz.       | \$20,000     |
| Don Sundquist         | R., Tenn.       | \$18,000     |
| Gerry Sikorski        | D., Minn.       | \$15,000     |
| Jim Cooper            | D., Tenn.       | \$12,000     |
| Barbara F. Vucanovich | R., Nev.        | \$10,000     |
| Howard C. Nielson     | R., Utah        | \$8,000      |
| Ron Packard           | R., Calif.      | \$7,000      |
| Alan Wheat            | D., Mo.         | \$6,000      |
| Robin Tallon          | D., S.C.        | \$5,000      |
| Ben Erdreich          | D., Ala.        | \$4,000      |
| Dick Durbin           | D., Ill.        | \$3,000      |
| Robin Britt           | D., N.C.        | \$2,000      |

Source: Federal Election Commission records

the cumulative debt of the 75 was still more than \$3.8 million.

"Most of what I own is mortgaged," said Representative Jim Cooper, a Tennessee Democrat who accepted \$40,425 in PAC money in the first six months of the year.

"We're raising money as fast as we can, wherever we can find it. But we've also told people that accepting money from them doesn't mean that I'll show my gratitude in any official way."

Freshmen in Congress have another incentive to seek large contributions: They already are worried about the next election, and they are raising money furiously. Some want to build up such formidable war chests that potential opponents will stay on the sidelines. "If they're freshmen, they're not secure," said Don Coggman, who runs the cash-dispensing committee sponsored

by Mapco Inc., the Tulsa-based energy company. "They're out running already, and they're trying to create a financial base for themselves."

"The most disappointing part of being in Congress is the financial pressure," said Representative Robert G. Torricelli, a Bergen County, N.J., Democrat who accepted \$52,469 in committee money in the first six months of the year.

"I'm not as good in my job as I could be because I'm always worried about money. Every minute I waste on campaign funds is a minute I should be using for the taxpayers."

Recent efforts to limit the influence of the committees have failed, in large measure, it seems, because a majority of Congressmen like having easy access to campaign funds. Still, advocates of change say there is growing apprehension about the committees, and they hope this will improve their chances of success.

Three of the six leading freshman recipients are cosponsors of legislation that would limit the influence of the panels by establishing a voluntary system of public financing and private contributions for general elections. This plan would limit candidates and their families to contributing no more than \$20,000, limit total spending in the general election to \$240,000, provide Federal matching funds for individual contributions of up to \$100 and limit total receipts from political action committees to \$90,000.

Several Congressmen, including Representative John McCain, a freshman Republican from Arizona who accepted \$47,200 in committee money in the first half of this year, have suggested the creation of a bipartisan panel similar to the National Commission on Social Security Reform to find an alternative.

"We are getting closer and closer to the point where this issue is going to be faced," said Mr. Wertheimer of Common Cause. "The time is coming. PAC money is almost to the point where it is constantly center-stage. Something has to be done, and it is going to have to be fundamental and comprehensive."

Now, a decade after the Watergate scandal, campaign financing is needed to blunt the negative aspects of the "reforms" that emerged from the 1970's. "There have to be reforms," said Representative Gerry Sikorski, a freshman Democrat from Minnesota who accepted \$40,582 from committees, "but this time the reforms have got to be better."

سكان الدول



# Fuji's Joust With 'Kodak-San'

Japan's photographic giant, still No. 2 in film, has become a force in the high-technology area.

By STEVE LOHR

**W**HEN Minoru Ohnishi talks about Eastman Kodak, the Goliath of the photographic industry, he respectfully applies the Japanese honorific form, calling it "Kodak-san."

"We don't dream of really competing with the giant Kodak," said the 58-year-old president of the Fuji Photo Film Company.

These are strange words coming from a man whose company has not shown much awe of Kodak in the marketplace.

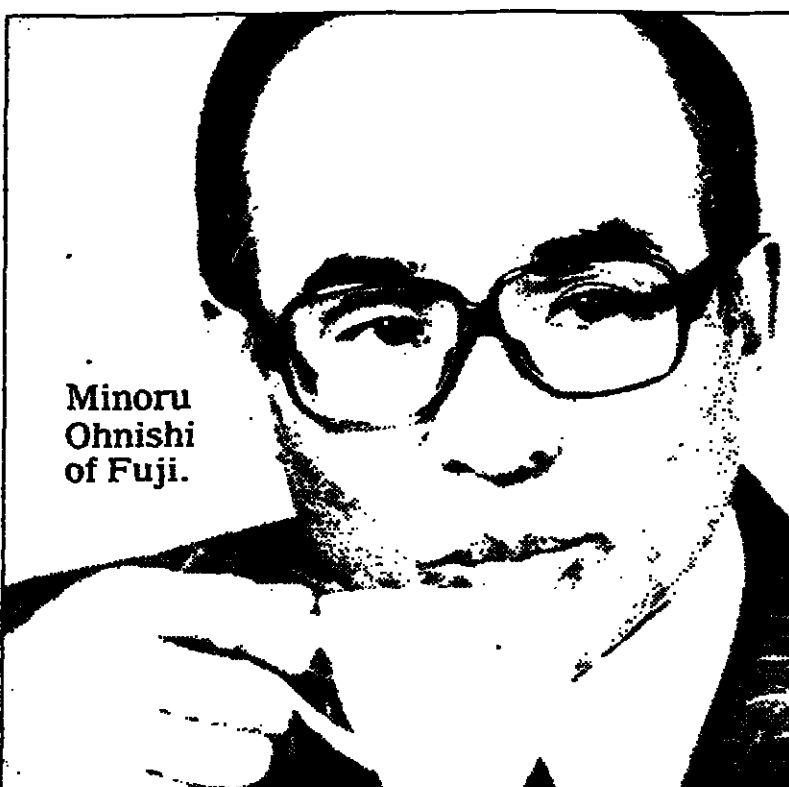
Indeed, Fuji, the world's second-largest producer of photographic film, has recently outperformed its big rival. Even though its recent earnings have been uninspired, Fuji has fared far better than Kodak, whose profits are off sharply. Fuji grabbed the corporate sponsorship as the official film of the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles away from Kodak with a quick bid of \$5 million, a move the Japanese company hopes will help establish its name in the United States market.

And while amateur photographic

products are Fuji's mainstay, representing half its business, in recent years Fuji has moved much more forcefully than Kodak into new fields — high-technology areas such as videotape and floppy disks for computers — that boast enviable growth rates.

Indeed, a company founded in 1934 as Japan's first manufacturer of motion picture film is being steadily transformed into a high-technology enterprise. "Fuji has moved into higher growth areas, based on electronics, optics and magnetic technologies, much more so than Kodak has," said Robert Burghart, an analyst at W. I. Carr Sons & Company in Tokyo. "Fuji is extremely well placed for the 1980's."

There is, to be sure, little danger that Fuji will, David-like, topple Kodak from its pre-eminent position in the amateur film market in the foreseeable future. Its total sales have about doubled in the past five years, reaching \$2.5 billion in 1982, figured at the recent exchange rate of 235 yen to the dollar. But the American company is still more than four times Fuji's size, and the century-old Kodak remains the standard-setter in



Minoru Ohnishi of Fuji.

the industry: Fuji must follow Kodak's lead with each change in technology or film processing, since Fuji's products must be "Kodak-compatible."

Still, Fuji has come a long way fast in recent years, pulling out even with Kodak in product quality, manu-

facturing efficiency and technology. When he joined Fuji in the mid-1950's, Hirozo Ueda, Fuji's senior managing director in charge of research and development, recalled, "Kodak's products seemed like things made by God. Their technology was so far ahead of ours. But today, our overall

# The Economy

technological level is comparable to that of Kodak."

Fuji's advance includes some of the classic elements seen in previous gains made by Japanese companies against American rivals in what is now an all-too-familiar litany of industries, from steel to semiconductors. For example, the path for Fuji was made easier because it followed in Kodak's footsteps. Typically, Kodak has spent generously on research and development to come up with new products, which Fuji could then either license or imitate.

In addition, the Japanese Government protected Fuji at home with high tariffs on imports and curbs on direct investment by foreign companies in the 1950's and 1960's, when the Japanese market for amateur film began to sprout. These barriers were eventually abolished, but not before Fuji was firmly in control.

Today, Fuji holds 75 percent of the \$300 million in yearly amateur film sales in Japan, while Kodak claims about 15 percent of that market. In the United States, Fuji has about 6 to 7 percent of the \$1.1 billion market for consumer color film, while Kodak has about 85 percent.

But the Fuji-Kodak case differs from the usual pattern of Japanese-American competition. In autos, steel and other industries, Japanese companies were helped by significantly lower labor costs. Their cost edge dictated their international strategy: slashing prices to gain an ever-larger market share.

Yet Fuji seems unlikely to resort to the same aggressive tactics. First, amateur shutterbugs tend to shun budget-priced film, preferring a high-quality image, a lesson Kodak has apparently learned in Japan.

Second, Mr. Ohnishi contends that Fuji's production costs are higher than Kodak's, and industry analysts agree. They say that the chemicals used in making film and photographic paper are cheaper in the United States. And lower labor costs, which have helped the Japanese in other fields, are not so important in the photographic industry.

"Making color film is not a labor-intensive process," says Eugene Glazer, an analyst at Dean Witter Reynolds Inc. in New York. "It is a capital- and materials-intensive process. So Eastman Kodak's production costs are probably lower than Fuji's."

Moreover, conventional photography is a silver-based technology, and Kodak has the advantage of buying the metal domestically.

Still, Fuji could fight a price war with Kodak if it chose to, because the profit margins in the photographic business are thick enough to allow plenty of shaving. But Mr. Ohnishi insists, "We won't cut prices to increase our market share."

Yet American analysts note that while Fuji's suggested retail prices in America are about the same as Kodak's, the Japanese company has selectively offered discounts to large retail chains and other film dealers to try to grab business from Kodak. Such discounts for volume orders lift dealers' profits.

Given the strength of Kodak's brand name in the United States, a gradual advance is the most Fuji can hope for. One American says, "No matter what Fuji does, I doubt that there is a big retail chain in the country that would have the courage to go with Fuji's film alone."

Until now, Fuji's gains in the United States had come at the expense of film producers other than Kodak, such as 3M, Agfa-Gevaert and

G.A.F., which dropped out of the amateur film business in the late 1970's.

Analysts speculate that Fuji may someday snatch 15 percent of the huge American film market, but they agree that getting American consumers to break the habit of reaching for one of Kodak's yellow boxes every time they want film will be a formidable task. "We know it will be very difficult for us to advance in the American market," Mr. Ohnishi says. "First, we must establish the Fuji name step by step in the United States."

Fuji's Olympic sponsorship is a step in that direction, although Kodak has seized the right to advertise its photographic products during televised broadcasts of the Games.

Internationally, Fuji's prospects are brighter outside the United States, where brand loyalty to Kodak is weaker. In fact, Fuji already holds a big chunk of the film and paper business in Southeast Asia, with nearly half of that market.

Fuji's share of the West European market is a bit more than 10 percent. To aid its European effort, Fuji is building a manufacturing facility in the Netherlands, to open next August.

But although Fuji opened an operation in Anaheim, Calif., last year to develop film, it has no plans yet to build a manufacturing plant in North America. First, Mr. Ohnishi stresses, Fuji must reach a higher level of "stable sales," but he does not say what that threshold is. Analysts place that critical market share at 10 percent or slightly more.

"Fuji will be careful," predicts Yuichi Kohasi, an analyst for the Daiwa Securities Company in Tokyo. "But exports should be one of the company's major forces for growth over the next several years."

Mr. Ohnishi says his company's growth over the long term will depend on its ability to wed developments in chemistry and optics with microelectronics to create "hybrid technologies" with commercial applications in video, semiconductors, office equipment and medical instruments.

Fuji has been laying the groundwork for its tilt toward microelectronics since the mid-1970's, when its top management decided a shift of course was needed and began hiring more electronics engineers. In Japan, bringing such expertise into the corporate fold is not a matter of bidding for people with money.

Instead, it is a slow, painstaking process of nurturing contacts with university professors, whose recommendations are the most important factor in determining where their students will work after graduation. "It has taken us nearly a decade to develop close relations with professors at Japan's leading universities," Mr. Ueda said.

Fuji's research and development spending has increased steadily: Today the company's budget for it amounts to 6.5 percent of sales, up from 5 percent five years ago. Of the 140 or so engineers Fuji hires every year, about 100 now go into its research laboratories, compared with 65 five years ago, Mr. Ueda says.

Recently, Fuji's fastest-growing line has been videotape, a product that Kodak does not make. In the late 1970's, Fuji came into the field forcefully, intent upon fashioning for itself a high-quality image, often pricing its products slightly higher than its rivals' offerings.

Today Fuji is among the world's largest producers of videotape, analysts estimate, closely trailing only TDK, Hitachi, Maxell and Sony.

## Machine Tools Seek Rebound

By DOUG McINNIS

**T**HE United States economy may be working its way out of the worst recession since the 1930's, but you wouldn't know it by looking at that small but most basic of businesses — the machine tool industry. The toolmakers, who produce the machines that are bought by manufacturing companies to stamp, grind, bend or otherwise shape their own products, are desperate for orders.

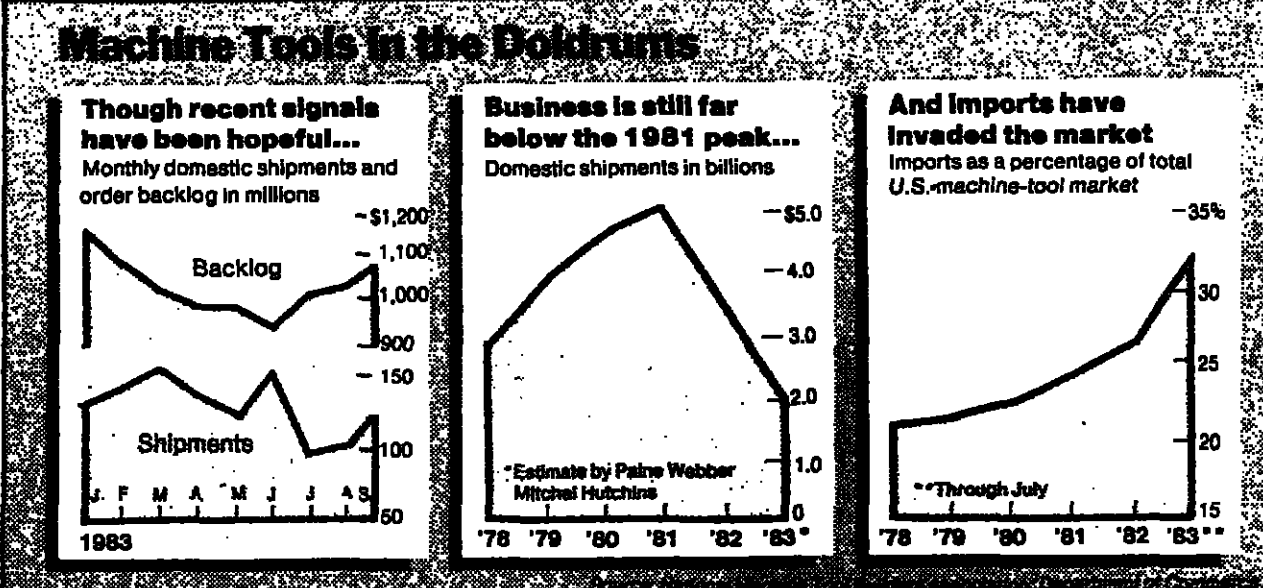
The primary reason is not difficult to discern: Their manufacturing customers, as is typical at this stage of an economic recovery, are themselves operating well below full capacity. So they do not need many new machine tools.

That is why William Jenkins, general manager of the Vulcan Tool Company, was more than willing to restructure his plant to land a \$2 million military order last year. Mr. Jenkins' men had to move the huge horizontal l-beams at the east Dayton workshop to make room for construction of the six 100-foot-long, 18-foot-high machines that eventually will be used to assemble launching tubes for the Air Force's MX missile. Nothing so dramatic had happened to the aging red-brick building since Vulcan transmogrified it from a trolley-car barn into a toolmaking plant in the 1940's.

In normal times, Vulcan is not enthusiastic about soliciting military business — the paperwork and red tape is more trouble than the contracts are worth. But so far, the 1980's have not been normal times. Vulcan's order backlog was shrinking fast. "We had work, but we didn't have that much," says Mr. Jenkins, the 56-year-old tool-and-die man who runs the day-to-day operations at Vulcan.

Vulcan is a private company, controlled by a local family named Jones, and does not disclose financial figures. But Mr. Jenkins concedes that the company is barely breaking even.

Just three years ago, Vulcan was



operating three shifts a day at the plant, but now it says it is down to just one shift, and only half the machines are busy then. The work force has been chopped to 140 from 200. Sales have plummeted from \$25 million to half that figure in the same three years and profits have slumped drastically as well. Rather than buy new machines, says W. P. Morman, sales manager at Vulcan, "our customers are patching up their old machines and making do."

Vulcan is a typical Middle Western toolmaker in that it is private, depends upon a specialty product for its existence, and is relatively small. Two-thirds of the nation's tool companies are even smaller, employing fewer than 20 workers. Vulcan's hard times also are typical of the industry. According to Eli S. Lustgarten, a machine tools analyst with the brokerage firm of Paine Webber Mitchell Hutchins Inc., the nation's 1,200 toolmakers will ship a mere \$2 billion worth of machinery this year, just 40 percent of the 1981 figure. The companies earned \$125 million last year. This year, according to Mr. Lustgarten, the industry will be lucky if losses are held to \$200 million.

Layoffs have dropped employment in the industry to 64,000, from 104,000 just two years ago. Even the giant of the industry, Cincinnati Milacron, which earned \$20 million in the first half of 1982, lost \$9 million during the same period this year. Not surprisingly, many smaller companies are barely surviving.

In part, the machine tool industry's misfortunes reflect the inevitably roller-coaster nature of an industry dependent on the business cycle and on investment outlays. And in fact, the recovery, now nearly a year old, is beginning to yield new orders. But these will not translate into shipments — and income — until next year.

The bad news is that an increasingly large percentage of these orders are going to foreign companies. Analysts say the foreigners grabbed one-third of the United States market this year, up from just 17 percent of a larger market five years ago. Leading the invaders, as usual, are the ubiquitous Japanese.

Late in the 1970's the leading Japanese toolmakers took aim at the American market. They developed

sophisticated numerical control machines — which are computer-driven and so require few workers to operate — and went hunting United States customers. The American manufacturing companies found the Japanese offer of quality products, delivered on time, at a low price, and backed up by service, just too good to refuse.

At least in part, American companies must take some of the blame for their troubles. When orders flooded the industry just a few years ago — the auto companies were retooling to build smaller, energy-efficient cars and the oil rig builders were doing a turn-away business — the domestic toolmakers established huge backlogs. Customers had to wait 18 months and more for their machine tools. As a result, they turned to the foreigners, who promised faster delivery. Many American machine tool companies also failed to invest heavily in research and development during the fat years, according to Clifford R. Meyer, president of Cincinnati Milacron. Now they lack the money to come up with the sophisticated products required to fend off the Japanese and West Germans.

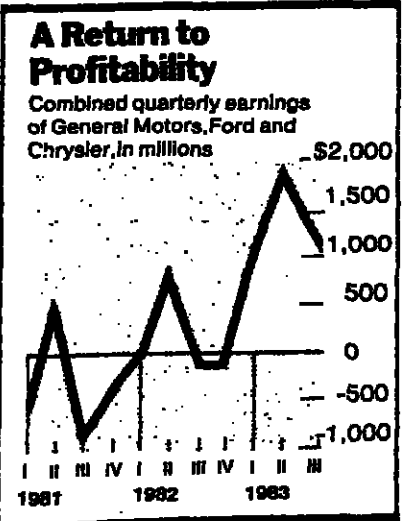
## WEEK IN BUSINESS

### Auto Makers Head For a Record Year

The Big Three auto makers are heading for their most profitable year ever. All reported substantial earnings for the third quarter — normally the industry's low point. Yet the weak sister, American Motors continues to struggle, reporting its 15th consecutive quarterly loss. G.M. posted record third-quarter earnings of \$737 million, a fivefold increase from 1982. Ford recovered from a \$325 million loss last year and earned \$333 million, while Chrysler's earnings rose tenfold to \$100 million. Analysts predict that the money will continue to pour into the auto makers' coffers during the fourth quarter. They add, however, that the Big Three can expect the unions soon to begin claiming a portion of those profits for themselves in the form of higher wages.

And the industry strength continued into October. Domestic car sales rose 41 percent in the mid-October period to an annual selling rate of 7.6 million cars, somewhat higher than the 7 million rate during September. Meanwhile, Japan appears to have decided to take a bigger slice of the market. Its new trade minister told the White House that Japan would not go along with the requested import quotas of 1.8 million cars in 1984. Rather the Tokyo Government would voluntarily hold shipments to 1.9 million, up from 1983's 1.68 million level.

Gulf Wars. T. Boone Pickens Jr.



continued to buy Gulf Oil stock and had almost 11 percent by the end of the week — about 18 million shares at a price of \$791 million. He also got some unusual moral support in his wrestling match with Gulf management from Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette. The Wall Street firm recommended to its clients that they support Mr. Pickens' plan to spin off Gulf's oil and gas properties into a royalty trust. Gulf countered by noting that D.L.J. had a vested interest in the Pickens group, having worked for Mesa Petroleum before.

Inflation picked up speed in September, though it was still modest

compared with recent years. The Consumer Price Index rose one-half a percentage point — a 6 percent annual rate — after a 0.4 percent rise in August. The steady rise left the White House a little less boastful about the success of its inflation fight and confirmed the fears of many Wall Street economists that inflation should pick over the next few months. At the same time, the index of leading indicators — a barometer of future economic activity — rose 0.9 percent in September, but new factory orders for durable goods fell half a point in September, reflecting a sharp drop in orders for new cars and parts.

The final deficit figures are in for fiscal 1983 — \$195.35 billion. The record total was far greater than 1982's \$110.66 billion gap, but somewhat less than the \$208.8 billion deficit projected by the Reagan Administration in July. As for the future, the Congressional Budget Office, under its new director Rudolph G. Penner, estimated that for the next three fiscal years the deficit would remain about \$190 billion a year.

The stock market drifted modestly lower through the week until a Tass statement on Friday charged that the U.S. had fired upon the Soviet Embassy in Grenada. The Dow Jones Industrial average was driven down 18.59 points and closed at 1,223.48, more than 25 points lower on the

week. The Fed had good news — a \$2.4 billion drop in the money supply. But the announcement did not affect interest rates much, which had moved very little during the week.

High-Tech Moxie. One would think that after I.B.M.'s announcement of two new powerful personal computers the rest of the industry would lie low for a while. Not so. Compaq Computer — successful marketer of an I.B.M.-compatible portable computer — announced both a more powerful portable model and plans to go public. The stock market has had little mercy on public high-tech companies lately, but Compaq is going forward with the sale of 6 million shares at between \$15 and \$18 each.

High-Tech Failure. Texas Instruments, after announcing a \$110 million loss in the third quarter, said it was pulling out of the home computer field, although it intends to continue making the more expensive personal computers. Its home computer losses have totaled more than \$500 million in the last six months. Other personal computer concerns simply grit their teeth and released more bad news. As expected, Digital Equipment reported a 72 percent profit plunge. Apple's performance was 73 percent below 1982 and Coleco, which just got its Adam computer onto the market after a two-month delay, took the deepest plunge, dropping 87 percent.

| The New York Stock Exchange |             |                |            |          |
|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------|------------|----------|
| MOST ACTIVE STOCKS          |             |                |            |          |
| WEEK ENDED OCTOBER 28, 1983 |             |                |            |          |
| Company                     | Sales       | Last           | Net Chng   |          |
| ATT                         | 8,203,400   | 61 1/2         | - 1 1/2    |          |
| IBM                         | 5,457,800   | 128            | + 1        |          |
| Chrysler                    | 4,597,300   | 27 1/2         | - 2        |          |
| G.M.                        | 4,572,300   | 77             | - 3/4      |          |
| Howl                        | 4,393,500   | 36 1/2         | - 1/2      |          |
| Comdr                       | 4,173,300   | 31 1/2         | - 5/8      |          |
| AMC                         | 4,062,800   | 23 1/2         | - 3/4      |          |
| Mer Ly                      | 4,012,800   | 30 1/2         | + 1/4      |          |
| Digital                     | 3,998,100   | 66 1/2         | - 1 1/2    |          |
| Exxon                       | 3,710,200   | 38 1/2         | - 1/2      |          |
| A Exp                       | 3,483,200   | 32 1/2         | - 1/2      |          |
| Chrys                       | 3,264,500   | 36 1/2         | - 1 1/2    |          |
| Citicorp                    | 2,991,800   | 30 1/2         | - 1/2      |          |
| Ford M                      | 2,942,800   | 66 1/2         | + 1/2      |          |
| Am Hes                      | 2,889,200   | 27 1/2         | - 2        |          |
| MARKET DIARY                |             |                |            |          |
| Advances                    | Declines    | Total Issues   | New Highs  | New Lows |
| 739                         | 1,222       | 2,205          | 85         | 75       |
| 652                         | 1,326       | 2,209          | 125        | 69       |
| VOLUME                      |             |                |            |          |
| Company                     | Last Week   | Year To Date   |            |          |
| Total Sales                 | 408,259,380 | 17,847,080,782 |            |          |
| Same Per. 1982              | 415,940,022 | 12,918,704,210 |            |          |
| WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES      |             |                |            |          |
| High                        | Low         | Last           | Net Change |          |
| 112.9                       | 108.8       | 109.8          | -1.97      |          |
| 96.3                        | 94.0        | 94.0           | -1.72      |          |
| 48.5                        | 48.1        | 48.3           | -0.13      |          |
| 92.8                        | 91.3        | 91.3           | -1.04      |          |
| 98.2                        | 94.2        | 94.2           | 1.468      |          |
| Standard & Poor's           |             |                |            |          |
| Company                     | Sales       | Last           | Net Chng   |          |
| 400 Indust                  | 189.4       | 182.7          | 183.8      | -3.26    |
| 20 Transp                   | 31.7        | 30.6           | 30.8       | -0.84    |
| 40 Util                     | 70.4        | 68.4           | 68.8       | +0.52    |
| 40 Financial                | 17.8        | 17.2           | 17.4       | -0.21    |
| 500 Stocks                  | 188.0       | 182.4          | 183.3      | -2.58    |
| Dow Jones                   |             |                |            |          |
| Company                     | Sales       | Last           | Net Chng   |          |
| 30 Indust                   | 1263.4      | 1217.0         | 1223.4     | -25.40   |
| 20 Transp                   | 688.1       | 673.5          | 676.6      | -13.69   |
| 15 Util                     | 140.8       | 137.2          | 139.2      | +0.44    |
| 65 Comb                     | 507.9       | 490.4          | 492.9      | -9.05    |
| The American Stock Exchange |             |                |            |          |
| MOST ACTIVE STOCKS          |             |                |            |          |
| WEEK ENDED OCTOBER 28, 1983 |             |                |            |          |
| Company                     | Sales       | Last           | Net Chng   |          |
| ImpCh                       | 4,215,100   | 8 1/2          | + 1/2      |          |
| DomeP                       | 1,595,300   | 3 1/2          | - 7/16     |          |
| Wang B                      | 1,474,800   | 31 1/2         | - 1/2      |          |
| KeyPh                       | 974,500     | 23 1/2         | - 4/8      |          |
| TIE                         | 888,500     | 28 1/2         | + 1/4      |          |
| Asm                         | 851,400     | 9 1/2          | - 1/2      |          |
| HouOTR                      | 482,900     | 9 1/2          | - 1/2      |          |
| OzarkA                      | 476,800     | 9 1/2          | - 1/2      |          |
| PopeE                       | 430,800     | 8 1/2          | - 1/2      |          |
| NIPent                      | 422,000     | 27 1/2         | + 3/4      |          |
| MARKET DIARY                |             |                |            |          |
| Advances                    | Declines    | Total Issues   | New Highs  | New Lows |
| 213                         | 584         | 920            | 11         | 27       |
| 191                         | 613         | 923            | 57         | 47       |
| VOLUME                      |             |                |            |          |
| Company                     | Last Week   | Year To Date   |            |          |
| Total Sales                 | 34,967,016  | 1,798,051,989  |            |          |
| Same Per. 1982              | 32,443,895  | 981,788,905    |            |          |



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## Goliath in Grenada

If there is an argument at all for the way the United States invaded Grenada, President Reagan has been clumsy in making it. The rescue of medical students was, almost by his own admission, only a pretext. Their evacuation, if necessary, could have been accomplished by lesser means. The legal justifications were a sham. Such breaches of treaties and sovereignty can only be rationalized by the aggressions of others.

Four days after the landings, Mr. Reagan finally pointed to a valid question, conceding his underlying concern: What were all those Cubans doing in Grenada? But whether or not the President is vindicated in his belatedly admitted suspicions about a Cuban threat, he has surely failed to reckon fully with the cost of his response.

If Cubans, on behalf of the Soviet Union, were subverting Grenada's Government and establishing a base "to export terror and undermine democracy" in Latin America, their expulsion is surely a proper American objective.

What is the evidence? The presence of a force of Cuban worker-soldiers larger than Washington anticipated, better trained and hoarding more weapons than anyone knew. Though Mr. Reagan voiced concern last March about the airfield the Cubans were building on Grenada, he either had inadequate intelligence about them before the invasion or is being served a much inflated picture of their operation now.

Plainly the President was predisposed to attack, to seize a moment of turmoil on the island to rid himself of the Grenada headache. If his worst suspicions are confirmed in the coming days, he will have denied the Russians and Cubans another Caribbean airfield, an auxiliary station for small-

arms transfers and a modest source of new recruits for international mischief.

Set this still uncertain gain against the price. It, too, cannot yet be fully reckoned, but it will be far more costly than the loss of a dozen soldiers. Simply put, the cost is loss of the moral high ground: a reverberating demonstration to the world that America has no more respect for laws and borders, for the codes of civilization, than the Soviet Union.

To liberate Grenada from some local henchmen, and perhaps from Cubans, America has defined its duty and security in ways that make it look like a paranoid bully. To much of the world, the invasion appears no different than the Soviet suppression of Poland or the occupation of Afghanistan. Even friends in the hemisphere and in Europe are tempted to think of the superpowers as equally selfish, possessed by geopolitical games. In their private thoughts, they may even raise a cheer for the Davids who dare to stand up to either Goliath.

A great many Americans, to be sure, feel better about their country this weekend than last. The carnage among passive marines in Lebanon struck them as one more sign of impotence, exposing a chronic failure of will to stand up to terrorists. Now, in tiny Grenada, Americans have shown that they can play hardball, too, that they can be just as tough at defending their turf as the Commies. Watch Out, Nicaragua. Beware, Syria. Keep Out, Russia.

It's a seductive but immature reaction. When all is done, pacifying Grenada will prove only the obvious about American power. The enduring test for Americans is not whether we have the will to use that power but the skill to avoid having to. A President who felt he had no other choice last Monday night should not be celebrating a victory. He should be repairing the prior political failures and forestalling the bitter harvest to come.

## Furnishing the Senate

ABC television recently did an elegant job of refurbishing the United States Senate. The Senate can now return the favor.

The interior decoration took place in the Senate Caucus Room, the huge chamber familiar as the site of the televised Watergate hearings. It was the site of a recent conference on voter participation sponsored by ABC and Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. The conference, attended by former Presidents Ford and Carter, was videotaped, and ABC wanted things to look just right.

"The rug had 20 years of coffee stains on it," a producer said, so the network replaced it with rose-colored carpeting, wall to wall. Then ABC brought in 55 cane-backed wooden chairs and 14 desks. When the conference was over, ABC gave the elegant furnishings to the Senate.

For the network, the occasion offered an elementary lesson in economics. It was cheaper to give

the furniture away than to load, truck and store it. For the Senate, there was an elementary lesson in civics: Television is here to stay, just as palpably as television's furniture. The House's proceedings have been telecast since 1979 with little fuss and with considerable gain in public understanding. Why not the Senate's, too?

Though undue theatrics have been deterred in the House by using fixed cameras, there might be greater danger in the Senate because it lacks the House's strict time limits on speeches. But so what if there were some posturing? The more people watching, the sooner they'll spot a blowhard.

Senator Howard Baker, the outgoing majority leader, is again trying to get his colleagues to let TV in. His persistence over the years deserves to succeed. Here's a welcome chance for the Senate to furnish something a lot more important than furniture: itself.

## One on One in the Schools

Wherever he goes these days, New York City's Schools Chancellor, Anthony Alvarado, has one special plea: "I need 275,000 people to give me an hour a week to do some mentoring with young people." He wants business and professional people to lay aside their attaché cases for that hour and deal personally with 275,000 high school students, giving them special help and inspiration.

The Carnegie Foundation recently recommended 1 guidance counselor for every 100 students, but in New York's high schools the ratio is 1 per 650. A third of the city's high school students are being raised by a single parent. The drop-out rate remains an appalling 45 percent.

## The Editorial Notebook

### Daylight Paradigm

For the last five weeks, there's been a four-hour instead of a five-hour time difference between the Eastern United States and most of Europe. The gap narrowed because many Europeans end daylight-saving time on the last Sunday in September. But that's only a small piece of the confusion. Russia and Albania ended it on Sept. 30. Britain and Ireland ended it only a week ago. We ended it, at least those of us who remembered, last night.

This chaos is repeated in reverse every spring, when the gap widens to six hours for a while. Things are more coordinated than they used to be, but there's still plenty of room for improvement.

Were it not for an American in Europe, we might all be on standard time all the time. Benjamin Franklin came up with the idea when he was wakened by "an accidental sudden noise" at six o'clock one morning in Paris. In a whimsical essay, he professed astonishment at finding that the sun rises so early and that "he gives light as soon as he rises."

Thus enlightened, he suggested that if Parisians rose with the sun they'd save 64 million pounds of candles each year by not staying up so

### More Confusion Seems More Likely Than More Light

late the night before. Recognizing that this change of life style wouldn't come easily, he proposed candle rationing and a tax on window shutters. "Every morning as soon as the sun rises," he added, "let all the bells in every church be set ringing, and if that is not sufficient let cannon be fired in every street."

Not until 1915 did anyone in authority pay attention. The British invoked daylight time year-round as a production measure during World War I. In 1918 the United States did the same, but a year later Congress repealed it, over President Wilson's veto. Such was the strength of opposition, then as now, particularly among farmers.

There hasn't been much progress since. Congress did not finally adopt nationwide daylight time, for six months each year, until 1966. Even then, it left states free to exempt themselves. Three do: Hawaii, Arizona and the large part of Indiana

that's in the Eastern Time Zone. So does Puerto Rico. Emergencies appear to be the only force that will make year-round daylight time recur, as in World War II. It was restored for the energy crisis in January 1974, but Congress repealed it before the year was out.

This year, the Reagan Administration supported Congressman Richard Ottinger's sensible bill to establish eight-month daylight saving, from early March through late October. But the House, usually less susceptible than the Senate to farm belt pressure, killed it in July.

Actually, no country has daylight saving for as long as eight months, but Canada's thinking about it. The Europeans' near uniformity is a feat in itself, fought through by railroads and airlines to ease twice-a-year timetable conversion headaches.

The merits of longer daylight time are as clear as the light in Franklin's bedroom. More daylight during normal waking hours means less energy consumption, less crime, fewer traffic accidents, more time to be outdoors. Worldwide coordination would make sense, too. But these may be ideas whose time will never come.

RICHARD E. MOONEY

## Letters

### Intervention in Grenada: Right or Wrong?

To the Editor:

We should not be too hasty in concluding that U.S. intervention in Grenada violates international law.

In April 1984, President Wilson sent marines into Mexico to overthrow Gen. Victoriano Huerta, who the previous year had murdered the elected president of Mexico and seized control of the government. Huerta accepted an offer of mediation, and two months later stepped aside as part of an overall settlement that led to the establishment of a provisional constitutional government.

Wilson's forceful commitment to democratic process has been criticized ever since as having been overly moralistic. Yet the idea of human rights that he appears to have championed — that people are not to be subjected to the rule of a government that has achieved power by murder and violence — is arguably part of an emerging norm of international law that justifies certain military interventions (e.g., Entebbe, Tanzania's overthrow of Idi Amin, the U.S. rescue attempt in Iran).

Humanitarian intervention ties in with a longstanding international legal exception to the prohibition of transboundary force.

There has always been an exception for foreign military forces being invited in to a country to help the government in power. If Prime Minister Maurice Bishop had survived the attack on his life, he might well have invited the United States into Grenada to protect him against the coup by Gen. Hudson Austin. Consider also that the British-appointed Governor General of Grenada, Sir Paul Scoon, did in fact request assistance when Bishop was assassinated.

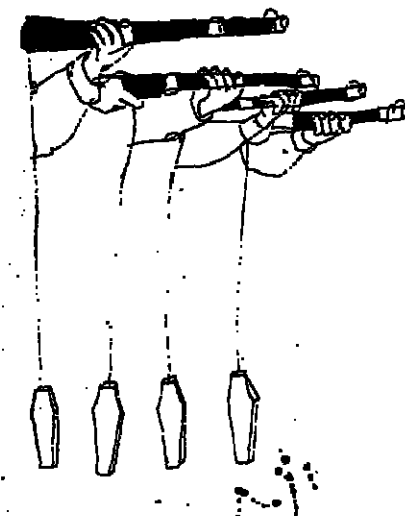
Should the fact that Austin succeeded in murdering Bishop erase an invitation that otherwise surely would have been extended? Is there not a constructive invitation to the U.S. to preserve the legitimate government (even if most of its personnel have been killed) against what President Reagan has called "a brutal group of leftist thugs?"

The idea of a constructive invitation gains added force from neighboring countries' support of the intervention. The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States is itself something of a larger organic unity: its charter provides for a regional coordination in the basic governmental areas of economic integration, cooperation in non-economic areas and coordination of foreign policies. In a sense, this "regional nation" invited the U.S. to protect one of its constituent parts.

Once there is an invitation by a gov-

ernment for military assistance, none of the prohibitions that have been quoted widely, such as those in the U.N. Charter or in the Charter of the Organization of American States, are relevant. An invitation is an absolute exception to these prohibitions on the use of transboundary force.

Still, I have not advanced these arguments to contend that the inter-



Mark Podwal

vention is legal but rather to counter overly hasty conclusions to the opposite effect. There is much more here than meets the eye.

ANTHONY D'AMATO  
Professor of Law  
Northwestern University  
Chicago, Oct. 26, 1983

To the Editor:

America has apparently gone on the offensive against what the Administration sees as the monolithic Communist threat. Our continued support for the corrupt and deadly government of El Salvador, the C.I.A.'s attempts to sabotage the Nicaraguan revolution (à la Allende's Chile), our too costly adventure in Lebanon and, in the great tradition of the Bay of Pigs, our invasion of Grenada have put the United States in the harshest light among all progressive-minded people.

Questions arise that require answers:

How can the Government justify the invasion of Grenada on the grounds of restoring democratic institutions while it sends millions in aid to a government that kills its people with horrible regularity and is kept in power only by force of arms?

What sort of Grenadian government will be acceptable to the U.S. and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States as sufficiently democratic? At

what cost will the U.S. continue to fill the void in the Lebanese Government? How long will we sacrifice American lives to protect a peace that has yet to come about in a country whose strategic interests lie in the Israeli sphere and in the minds of a cold-warrior Administration?

Will U.S. intelligence forces continue to undermine the economic infrastructure of the popular, albeit leftist, Government in Managua? And will the State Department continue to attack "Marxist" governments in the Caribbean and throughout the world?

As Europe is armed with increasingly sophisticated nuclear weapons and as strategic arms talks grind to a halt we find ourselves on the brink. We can only hope for a reappraisal of our priorities. Our fear of Communism is becoming an unhealthy obsession. The inclination to answer each international crisis with overt or covert force portends a dangerous future.

If this is the Administration's road to global peace and security, it is the strangest road this citizen has yet encountered.

JOSEPH KOSLOWSKI  
Jersey City, N.J., Oct. 26, 1983

To the Editor:

Bravo to President Reagan for taking prompt action against the Communists in Grenada! If President Eisenhower had done the same in Cuba when Castro expropriated American property, we would have been spared 20 years of trouble.

Now we should stop being coy about our efforts to bring democracy back to Nicaragua and mount a full-scale effort to oust the Sandinistas and the Cubans from that beleaguered country. Castro will learn soon enough that the Soviets are not going to fight a nuclear war to save him or his troops in Central America, and the next step would be to restore democracy in Cuba itself.

If the Soviets felt they were "right" in taking over half of Eastern Europe to protect themselves from "European capitalism," then we are "right" in rooting out the cancer of Communism so close to our borders.

As for the politicians who attempt to curry the favor of the people by obstructing the President from achieving these aims, they are clearly doing their country a disservice and are actually working for the Soviets, even if they don't realize it now.

We must be strong in supporting our principles lest we shall ourselves be subverted by our enemies from within and without.

SHELDON RITTER  
Fresh Meadows, N.Y., Oct. 25, 1983

### Beirut: 'There Is No Place for a Foreign Peace Force'

To the Editor:

The carnage at Beirut is being reacted to with febrile emotion and patriotic fervor, but very little common sense. What we are being told very clearly in Beirut by one of the belligerents is that there is a civil war going on, that there is no place for a foreign peace force because there is no peace understanding to enforce, and that if it persists in remaining and playing the game of one of the belligerents, the peace force will be treated as a belligerent.

The truth of the matter is that it is fiction and pretense to say at this time that the Americans, the French and the Italians are a "peacekeeping force." Even if one could stretch the facts and make out a case that Lebanon was on the verge of peace when the peace force was sent in, it is clear at this time that there is no mission for it to perform.

It was premature and a mistake to send the peace force in, but to keep it there now, in a posture that is as vulnerable as it is pusillanimous, is both stupid and heartless.

MURRAY EISENBERG  
Bronx, Oct. 25, 1983

### 'Those Marines Were Us'

To the Editor:

The President's grief over the horrifying bombing of the Marine headquarters in Lebanon should remind all of us who share that grief that war is not glory but death. The shock of that extraordinary event, the devastating impact of the bomb, the compression of the building into a small pile of rubble containing the crushed bodies of innocent marines, should warn of the effects of war — limited and nuclear.

There are evils which must be resisted to the point of death, some believe. But in my opinion, inept foreign policy, in spite of its long history as the cause of countless wars, should not be allowed to drag us into a situation that will bring death, not to hundreds, but thousands and perhaps millions. Who will raise a voice against the drift to death? Those Marines were us. And now Grenada.

FREDERICK H. SRIVER  
Professor of Church History  
General Theological Seminary  
New York, Oct. 26, 1983

### Rejected Nearby Help

To the Editor:

The Pentagon's rejection of Israeli offers of help in rescuing Marines entombed in the Beirut disaster and of medical assistance to the survivors (news story Oct. 25) was so unreasonable as to border on insanity.

Israel has been under almost constant Arab attack for 35 years and during that time has acquired considerable experience in treating the kinds of wounds and burns caused by

disasters such as the one that befell our marines. Israeli hospitals, at Haifa, Tel Hashomer and Ein Kerem, among others, are only minutes away from Beirut by helicopter.

It is incredible, perhaps criminal, that those facilities were not used as an alternative to flying American wounded to hospitals in distant places hours away from the scene.

This emergency seems to me to have been the wrong time to give way to "fear of eroding Washington's relationships with the Arab world." It is high time Washington realized that those "relationships" are built on sand.

FRANK GERVASI  
New York, Oct. 25, 1983

### Neglected Security

To the Editor:

When will we hear about the investigation or court-martial of the commander of our troops in Lebanon? It is obvious that incompetence, lack of adequate defenses and a casual approach to security resulted in the success of the tragic attack.

With sniping and bombing part of daily life, constant threats directed toward our presence and a recent similar attack on the U.S. Embassy, the amazing fact that we were unprepared to stop one small truck demonstrates a lack of military expertise and of concern for the safety of our troops.

RONALD R. MILLER  
Beach Haven Terr., N.J., Oct. 24, 1983

### Targets of Terrorism

To the Editor:

All across the country, Americans are today expressing their justifiable outrage at the heinous terrorist act committed in Beirut. We are shocked that such a senseless, brutal act could be committed against sleeping, defenseless human beings.

Through our grief and outrage, perhaps a peripheral issue can be more clearly understood. Americans have in the past roundly condemned many of the actions taken by the Israeli Government in response to terrorist activities, activities directed in large part not against soldiers but against civilians, often women and

children. Perhaps Americans can now begin to empathize with Israel in its efforts to end this threat of terrorism, which, like the sword of Damocles, hangs over the heads of its citizens.

PHILIP DAUBER  
Brooklyn, Oct. 24, 1983

### War's Residuals

To the Editor:

Much ink has been spilled on analyses that link our presence in Lebanon with Vietnam, Munich or some other pivotal place and time. But these are strategic and tactical considerations. There is another important link, a link to every war that has ever been fought. This link is the lasting effects on the lives of those who have had to experience the stress and horrors of battlefield conditions.

As psychologists, we have spent thousands of hours listening to veterans speak of the never-ending nightmare that may have happened 15 years ago in Vietnam or 40 years ago in the South Pacific. These experiences retain a quality of immediacy in the lives of these veterans that has far-reaching effects upon them. The diaries and letters of veterans of other eras attest to the unfortunate timelessness of this phenomenon.

A story about Marine sharpshooters in Lebanon that you published the other day brought this point distressingly home. One sharpshooter said that the first time he had a human target in the cross hairs of his scope he thought about the fact that he was about to kill a human being, but the deaths of his buddies quickly erased any further feeling.

Tens of thousands of G.I.'s in Vietnam faced this same experience, and many of them today are trying to sort out what it did to them.

When we think about global strategy and national imperatives, let us not forget that those who do our collective bidding will have to live with the consequences in a most personal way for the rest of their lives. If we send this generation to war, let us be sure that it is really necessary for the survival of the nation.

JOHN N. CORBIN  
Catherine W. Corbin  
Pleasantville, N.Y., Oct. 20, 1983

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WASHINGTON, Oct. 29 — The same vicious virus that infected the Nixon White House and caused its ruin is now raging through the Reagan Administration.

"The press is the enemy," Mr. Nixon used to say. That contempt and hatred for an unelected elite led to the bunker mentality of "Us against Them," and then to an obsession with leaks and the excesses of Watergate. The same baleful mood permeates the White House and the Pentagon today.

But this President skillfully masks his animosity toward reporters; he limits to private counsels his denunciation of his earliest journalistic supporters as "hostile." Not merely "critical" — the word the President uses is "hostile": They have crossed over to the enemy, to "Them."

To defeat "Them," he has directed a campaign now reaching crescendo: 1. Lie Detectors. To frighten Government officials away from reporters, Mr. Reagan signed an order making it possible for a bureaucrat to demand that his employees take polygraph tests whether or not leaks have taken place or the employees are under suspicion. Asked if the administration would administer these random tests, Attorney General William French Smith replied, "Why on earth would it do that?" But while the head of the Justice Department professed ignorance, Deputy Assistant Attorney General Richard Willard, 35, the John Dean of the Reagan Administration, carried favor in the Oval Office by testifying to the contrary.

2. Memoir Censorship. Mr. Reagan has ordered that all Government officials be required to sign lifetime agreements to submit future writings for Government clearance. This attempted rape of the First Amendment would force all outgoing officials to plead with their replacements to allow the publication of memoirs or informed criticism of the new administration's policies. Under this rule, if President Reagan did not like President Carter's book, he could have suppressed it. The White House counsel stands inexcusably mute.

3. Control of Questioning. In seeking to gut the Freedom of Information Act, in requiring all White House officials to report to a central authority before returning calls from reporters, and in undermining the tradition of regular press conferences, this President has made a policy of avoiding questions that might show him out of touch. Not since Watergate in 1974 has a healthy President avoided reporters for as long as Mr. Reagan did this fall.

4. Blackout of War News. Fearful of television pictures of casualties and impressed by Mrs. Thatcher's management of a supine British press during what I will now call the Malvinas war, the President dictated that coverage of his Grenada invasion would be handled exclusively by Pentagon press agents. He not only barred the traditional access, but in effect kidnapped and whisked away the American reporters on the scene.

## ESSAY Us Against Them

By William Safire

The excuses given for this communications power grab were false. Caspar Weinberger, with an inarticulate martinet at his side, pretended that reporting was denied because of concern for journalists' safety, which is absurd: The Reagan Administration would hail the obliteration of the press corps. Another reason advanced — that the military was too busy to provide the press with tender, loving care — is an insult calculated to enrage journalists.

The nastiest reason, bruited about within the Reagan bunker, is that even a small press pool would have blabbed and cost American lives. Not only is this below the belt, but beside the point: We know that the Cubans knew of the invasion plans at least a day in advance. In fact, the absence of U.S.

war correspondents has curtailed criticism that the Pentagon miscalculated and sent in a dangerously small initial invasion force. The C.I.A. should have had a team with a radio on that island a week before the landing.

What has caused the Reagan men to invite a war with the press in the midst of two military campaigns? I should be writing today of the strategic importance of this timely invasion, which I favor and applaud; and here I am looking at my old friend Cap Weinberger with dismay. He is an intelligent human being, a good man, a patriot; and now he is declaring a willingness to obstruct military justice by ruling out a court-martial in Lebanon; professing his abdication of control of the military on press coverage, which is a matter of public policy, and — in my sorrowful opinion — lying through tight lips about why he barred the press from the battlefield in Grenada.

Perhaps Cap is driven by a desire to reaffirm membership in Mr. Reagan's Us. Since the press hates Us, he can indulge in the politically popular hatred and harassment of Them.

Count me among Them. I wish my former colleagues now in the bunker would remember Mr. Nixon's words in his farewell: "Those who hate you don't win unless you hate them — and then you destroy yourself."

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29 — One of the odd things about the conduct of U.S. foreign and military policy in the last 50 years is why we are so often taken by surprise.

The tragedy of the marines in Lebanon is merely the latest example. The Pentagon cannot explain why, after the U.S. Embassy in Beirut was blown up six months ago by a hostile bomb squad, it was then surprised when a wayward truck was able to get through the security lines at the Beirut airport, and murder over 200 marines in the night.

The State Department is "surprised" when it is asked why the Mar-ines were there in the first place, or what their mission is there now. It is surprised by the doubts of the allies over the Reagan Administration's invasion of Grenada, in violation of its commitments under the United Nations Charter and the nonintervention promises of the Organization of American States.

The two main charges against the Reagan Administration now are that it is incompetent militarily, and incoherent politically; that it is unable to defend its troops, or define what they're doing either in Lebanon or in Grenada.

President Reagan tried to answer the criticism of political confusion by insisting that both in Lebanon and in

WASHINGTON

## What Went Wrong?

By James Reston

Grenada he was opposing a Soviet-backed conspiracy to take over both countries.

This has been precisely Mr. Reagan's theme ever since he came to the White House and long before: that all the foreign problems of this country are the result of the wicked Russians and all its domestic problems the fault of the wicked Democrats. He is surprised by the growing opposition to this simplistic nonsense. But in fairness, he is not the first American President to be startled by events he didn't foresee.

For half a century, Presidents have been surprised by the very things they have predicted and deplored. Even in the midst of the brutal Second World War, when President Roosevelt was denouncing

the dictatorships in vivid Reagan-style rhetoric, it never occurred to him that the Japanese would dare to bomb Pearl Harbor and destroy the U.S. Pacific Fleet, bobbing and sleeping at its docks.

Likewise, President Truman and General MacArthur simply assumed that they could send American power beyond the 38th parallel in the Korean War and that when our men approached the Chinese border, the Chinese would not intervene. But they did, with their massive manpower, and Harry, with his usual common sense, withdrew.

There were other surprises. President Kennedy, dead now these 20 years, thought that with a lot of Central Intelligence Agency money, a few airplanes and a little bit of luck, he could get rid of Fidel Castro. But it didn't work out that way at the Bay of Pigs.

President Johnson was surprised when he discovered that his modern military weapons did not compel the peasant armies of North Vietnam to surrender, and, in a way, President Carter may have made a similar mistake.

The guess here is that the historians will be kinder to Jimmy Carter than were the journalists of his time. Like other Presidents, Mr. Carter was surprised, though in a different way.

He was and is a deeply religious man, a true believer, but ironically he was surprised to find that people of another faith in Iran would capture his Embassy and take his people hostage for over 400 days. And President Carter was even more surprised when, finally trying to rescue the hostages, his helicopters ran into one another in the desert.

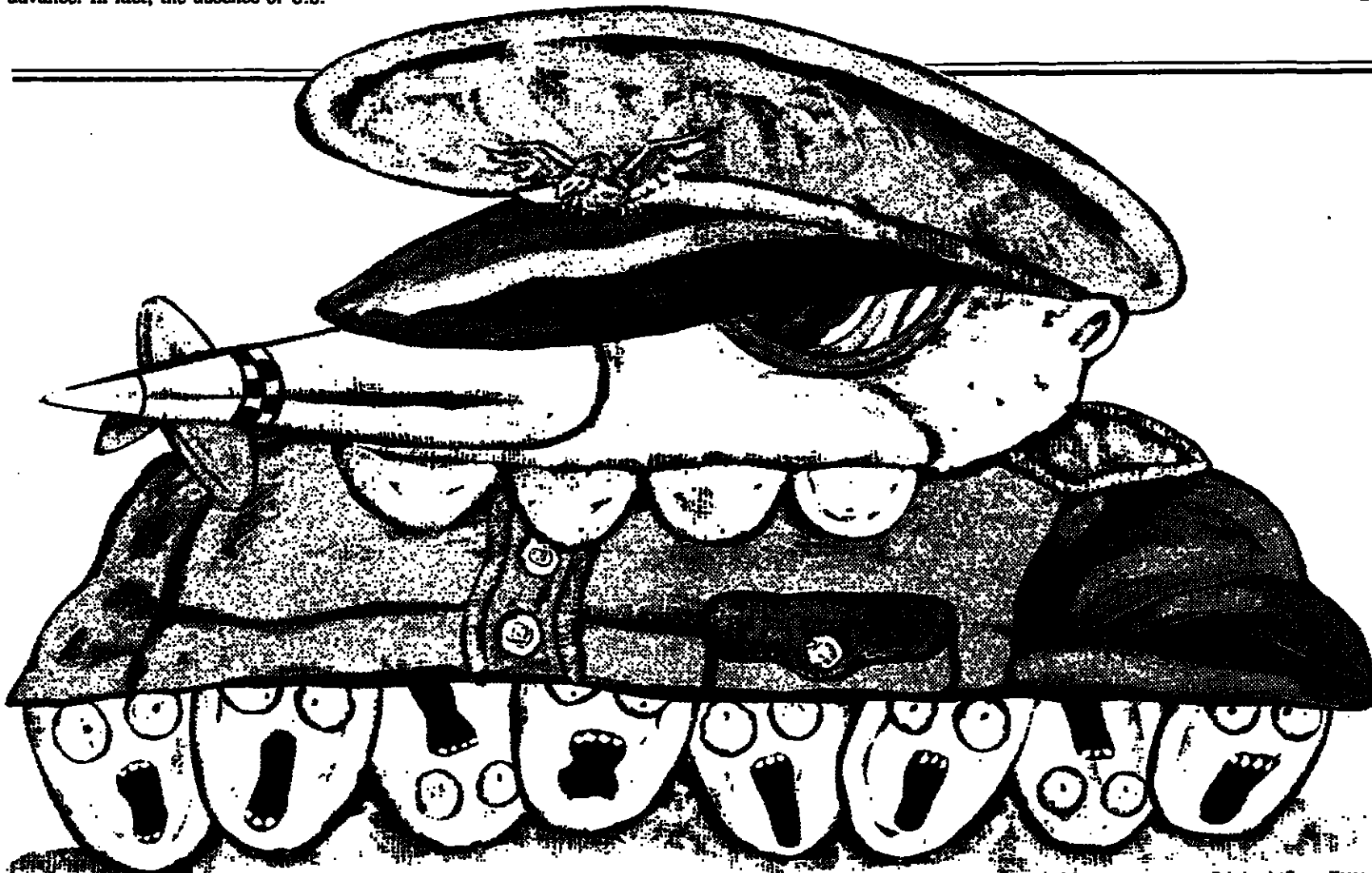
So what? I think this country is really good at big things, when the American people are united and paying attention, but not very good at all with the grubby details of important things.

The problem around here, and it's probably not much different "out there," is that we think we can deal with all these problems without fighting. All we have to do is "show up" with all our military power, most of which we can't use.

In diplomatic terms, the important thing is to present an American "presence." After all, everybody knows we're the big boy on the block. Nobody would dare try to blow up the Marine barracks in Beirut.

That's what General MacArthur thought when he went north to the Yalu River in Korea, and what General Westmoreland thought when he went north in Vietnam until he later ran into CBS. And what President Reagan thought when he sent the Marines into Lebanon and Grenada, and the Navy to stroll off the Caribbean and Pacific shores of Nicaragua.

Just show the flag! An "American presence" will be enough. And sometimes it is in little islands like Grenada.



Illustrations by George Kizer

Both the tragedy at Beirut airport and the American invasion of Grenada offer dramatic insight into the Reagan Administration's foreign policy, one whose true objectives are often obscured by its rhetorical bows to public opinion. These events reveal a militarized Administration, obsessed with force and more than a little trigger-happy, an Administration that has never learned that being strong is not the same as looking tough.

The Marines were attacked because they were viewed as partisan and were being used to support one faction in Lebanon's civil war. They became victims, not as "peace-makers," as the Administration insists, but because they were instruments of its efforts to assure the survival of the Gemayel Government.

Such a Government would not be undesirable: It would be pro-American, no trouble to Israel, anti-Syrian and anti-Soviet. The trouble is that it is unrealistic to imagine its survival — unless we send an American army to protect it, as we tried under not totally dissimilar circumstances years ago in Vietnam. In Lebanon, a center-right Christian-dominated Government is violently opposed by powerful factions that, with Syrian support, are capable of thwarting it. This is why the other nations of the multinational peacekeeping force — France, Italy, Britain — have kept out of the infighting among Lebanese factions.

The problem in Lebanon is not that of protecting a beleaguered democratic government from foreign enemies. The Government itself is a faction; it exists in its present form only because of American support. Unless it is expanded to include all factions of the population — and to take account of the fact that Syria, far more than the United States, has a "vital interest" in the area — there is no possibility of a peaceful settlement.

After the disaster at the Marine barracks — a disaster that, it must be said, resulted in part from lax security arrangements for which the highest officials must be held fully responsible — Congress is beginning to regret the 18-month grace period it so casually gave the Administration only a few weeks ago. Even many Congressmen who supported the extension of the War Powers Act did so not because they believed that the Administration would hold them responsible when things got worse. Like the Tonkin Gulf Resolution nearly 20 years ago, the extension gave the President a free hand to engage in a war as he saw fit.

Although it was a mistake to send the Marines in the first place, it would be a mistake now to withdraw the entire contingent precipitously. The Lebanese negotiators in Geneva

Ronald Steel is author, most recently, of "Walter Lippmann and the American Century."

## Reveling In Military Power

By Ronald Steel

should be given one more chance to arrive at a compromise settlement. They are likely to do so only if they know that this is their last chance and that the Marines will be withdrawn within three months at the most.

Would the Reagan Administration agree to this? Not unless forced to do so by public opinion and by Congress. This is an Administration that not only believes in the assertion of military power but revels in it. Its involvement in Lebanon, its determination to install the Pershing 2 missiles in Western Europe, its actions in Central America, and now the invasion of Grenada offer dramatic proof.

Grenada was an irresistible temptation. A coup d'état, in which militant Marxists overthrew somewhat more lackadaisical ones, presented the opportunity. The presence of American medical students offered the pretext. Nonetheless, the Administration had trouble keeping its stories straight. First it said it had to evacuate the students, although the Grenadian Government had offered to do so itself. Then it was to restore democracy. Now, we are told, it was to prevent the island from becoming a Soviet-Cuban base to export "terrorism" — as if there were any shortage of such bases already. The public is

## Dramatic proof of Reagan policy

gullible, but not stupid. Ronald Reagan invaded because he did not like the Government and had the power to get rid of it.

Undoubtedly, as Mr. Reagan has said, the Grenadian regime was composed of "leftist thugs," and it is hard to mourn their demise. One might take the President's justifications more seriously, however, were they not so selective. The area is full of "thugs," including some particularly nasty ones who rule nearby Haiti, not to mention El Salvador, where the thugs we support were involved over the past four years in the murder of some 37,000 civilians — about one-third the total population of Grenada.

We will wait, I think, in vain for a liberation of these and other friendly

thug-ruled countries. That being the case, Mr. Reagan was hypocritical. He also insulted the intelligence of the American people. He ordered the invasion of Grenada because he wanted to show that the United States will use force to get rid of Marxist governments — thereby hoping to intimidate radicals in other Caribbean countries. The invasion was also a useful distraction from the disaster in Lebanon, whether or not the Administration so intended. It might further have been devised as a way of testing the waters of public opinion for future United States military moves against Nicaragua and the Salvadoran guerrillas.

Left to its own instincts, the Reagan Administration is drawn to gunboat diplomacy against opponents like Grenada that cannot fight back and to seek quick military fixes for intractable political dilemmas, as in Lebanon and Central America. In his obsession with military force, Ronald Reagan has never understood that being a great power is a responsibility. It is not merely an opportunity to twist arms. It means understanding that force has its limits, that national prestige can be dissipated on unworthy causes, that not every interest is a "vital" one. This Administration still has not grown up, and at this point probably never will.

Suddenly, within a single week, and for the first time in years, the United States has been engaged in military actions of two different kinds and in two widely distant countries. Is this, then, the resurgence of American power that some of us have been hoping for since the election of Ronald Reagan?

If we ask that question in connection with Lebanon, the answer has to be an emphatic no. Far from suggesting a resurgence of American power, our policy in Lebanon is redolent of the sickly inhibitions against the use of military force that prevented the Carter Administration from doing anything about the seizure of the American Embassy in Teheran by Iranian "students" in 1979. The day our hostages were finally released, the newly inaugurated President Reagan declared that never again would terrorists be permitted to act against the United States with im-

Norman Podhoretz is editor of Commentary.

## Proper Uses Of Power

By Norman Podhoretz

punity. Nevertheless, impunity is precisely what has thus far been enjoyed by those responsible for the terrorist attack in Beirut last week, which resulted in the loss of at least 225 American Marines.

Why is this so? The reason is not that we do not know against whom to retaliate. On the contrary, we have very good reason to believe that this attack, like the one on our embassy in Beirut last April (to which we also failed to respond), was launched by a pro-Iranian Shiite group based in the Syrian-dominated sector of Lebanon. Since the Syrians are fully capable of preventing any organization located in territory they control from carrying out terrorist operations (or, for that matter, doing anything else), we have to assume that they either ordered or approved of these attacks on the United States.

It is the Syrians, therefore, who are responsible, and it is against their military installations in Lebanon that we should retaliate. That we have failed to do so means that even under Ronald Reagan there is no penalty for slaughtering American troops.

No wonder, then, that we hear so many calls from conservatives as well as liberals, hawks no less than doves, to pull the Marines out of Lebanon, at least after a decent interval, on the grounds that they have no clear mission to perform and are only "sitting ducks." But the reason the Marines have no clear mission to perform is that we have been unwilling to work with the Israelis in trying to reestablish a pro-Western democratic regime such as existed in Lebanon before 1975, when the Palestine Liberation Organization and then the Syrians moved in.

Instead, from the moment the Israelis invaded Lebanon in 1982, we have behaved as though they were somehow damaging American interests by inflicting a defeat on the Soviet-backed forces there. Indeed, American Marines were sent into Lebanon in the first place not to cooperate with the Israelis in clearing the P.L.O. out of Beirut but to prevent the Israelis from doing the job themselves. Then, having safely escorted the P.L.O. out, the Marines were withdrawn.

Since being brought back as a "peace-keeping force" after the

Sabra and Shatila massacres, the Marines have as a matter of policy been conspicuously dissociated from the Israelis. There have been ugly incidents of confrontation with Israeli soldiers in the area. The United States has rejected Israeli cooperation in putting military pressure on the Syrians to withdraw from Lebanon and even in hitting back at the Syrians for the terrorist attack on the Marine compound itself.

Thus we have refused to work with a democratic ally (in this case, Israel) to strengthen democratic processes in a country (in this case, Lebanon) where they have been severely damaged by radical elements (in this case, the P.L.O. and the Syrians) in league with the Soviet Union. The result has inevitably been an incoherent political strategy, and it is this incoherence that is reflected in the confusion surrounding the mission of the Marines in Lebanon.

Looking at Lebanon alone, then, one would have to conclude that we are still very far from anything resembling a resurgence of American power. But Grenada tells a different story, and the contrast is both instructive and inspiring.

The United States has sent troops into Grenada at the behest of, and in unambiguous collaboration with, the tiny democratic states of the eastern Caribbean that lack the military power to defend themselves against Marxist revolutionaries backed by and linked to the Soviet Union and Cuba. Our political objective in invading Grenada is, as the President has put it, "to restore order and democracy." We are, in other words, openly using military power to protect our democratic friends in the region generally and to further the cause of democracy in Grenada in particular. We are also taking action against the strategic threat that has been posed to us by the gradual transformation of Grenada into a base for Soviet and Cuban military operations.

We have, in short, approached Grenada with a clarity of political and moral purpose that we have been utterly unable to achieve in Lebanon. Armed with this clarity of purpose, the Reagan Administration has moved decisively and effectively — which is another way of saying that it has managed to brush aside pre-emptive rationalizations of the kind that were invoked to justify our impotence over the hostages in Iran and the newer rationalizations that have now appeared to explain why we can do nothing in Lebanon.

Grenada by itself cannot be taken to signify a resurgence of American power, especially given the demoralization evident in our response to the attack on our Marines in Beirut. But if Lebanon shows us a United States still suffering from the shell-shocked condition that has muddled our minds and paralyzed our national will since Vietnam, Grenada points the way back to recovery and health.





# His Art Blends The Best of Two Cultures on a Stage

By DON SHEWEY

"Pay attention to the way you walk," the actor and director John Lone is telling a young actress. "You were going like this," he says, humping up his jacket to show off the sensual sway of his hips as he walks across the rehearsal room. "That's too sexy, too contemporary. Your character is very protected. She's simple and innocent. She walks like this." Mr. Lone goes back the way he came, this time in a more contained posture, bowing his head, tucking his hips under, and slightly bending his knees as he walks. An observer watching this demonstration might think he had just seen two different people, a gum-chewing flirt in stretch pants and a humble, kimono-clad maidservant. Yet both were enacted by a tall, unshaven man in red sweat pants, a plaid hunter's jacket, and a black-and-white checked beret.

His physical grace, his dancer's sense of movement, and his ability to transcend age, sex, and culture make John Lone an extraordinary performer by any standards. But he has proved uniquely useful to David Henry Hwang, the 26-year-old Chinese-American playwright whose two one-act plays, "The Sound of a Voice" and "The House of Beauties" — collectively known as "Sound and Beauty" — open Wednesday at the Public Theater in a production directed by Mr. Lone. All of Mr. Hwang's work including "F.O.B.," "The Dance and the Railroad," and "Family Devotions," previously produced at the Public, attempts to combine Asian myths and theater styles with contemporary American characters and realities. And that combination finds its perfect embodiment in Mr. Lone.

Born in Hong Kong 31 years ago, Mr. Lone began his career in the theater at the age of 9 as an apprentice with a company trained in the Peking Opera style. He underwent 10 years of strict training in classical Chinese theater techniques, living, eating,



John Lone directs Natsuko Ohama in "The Sound of a Voice," part of a double bill by David Henry Hwang that opens Wednesday at the Public.

and studying in one building isolated from any outside influences, academically or socially. His curiosity eventually drove him to leave the cloistered world of the Peking Opera, and he started devouring American movies, going to two or three a day. He turned down a 10-year contract to make Kung Fu movies and an offer to join Maurice Béjart's dance company in Brussels. He moved to Los Angeles, where he spent three years in night school until he could speak Eng-

lish well enough to take acting classes.

"I grew up in this old world, this secret world, this religion of perfection," says Mr. Lone, whose English is fluent if heavily accented and at times ungrammatical. "Peking Opera is a total theater form with no psychological reason behind it," he says. "They teach singing, acting, tumbling, acrobatics, form, symbolism, everything except psychological understanding. Whatever little thing

happens inside, I don't know what it is. If it happens, it tears come one night, I'm criticized — too emotional, not supposed to be emotional. When I started studying Method, Western acting, I loved it. Now I understand there's a reason for a character's behavior. The approach is much more immediate, knowing the thoughts behind the character, the history. I was so excited, I can't tell you. What I did before was important — he claps his hands over his heart — "but this" — pointing to his head — "is also so important."

It was quite a blow to the head and heart, however, when Mr. Lone learned how little work there is for Asian actors in this country. He describes the few jobs he got in television and film as "living atmosphere." It was an enormous stroke of luck,

# Arts & Leisure

then, when his former acting teacher Mako, who was directing "F.O.B." at the Public, sent the script to Mr. Lone and said, "This is your part." The role of Steve, a Chinese immigrant "fresh off the boat," could have been custom-written for John Lone; bewildered by American customs and scorned by ABCs (American-born-Chinese), he defends himself by acting out the exploits of the legendary Chinese warrior Gwan Gung.

Mr. Hwang's play and Mr. Lone's performance both won Obie Awards in 1981, and the experience immediately inspired a collaboration on "The Dance and the Railroad," which Mr. Lone directed, choreographed, composed music for, and performed in. The play, originally commissioned by the New Federal Theater for its Ethnic Heritage Series and later filmed for cable television, made further use of the impressive physical skills Mr. Lone had exhibited in "F.O.B.": it concerned two Chinese men working on the transcontinental railroad in 1867, one of them a happy-go-lucky hedonist, the other a disciplined would-be dancer training for the Peking Opera.

Mr. Lone's involvement with "Sound and Beauty" is more complicated. The playwright always wanted Mr. Lone to direct the plays, though there didn't seem to be a role for him in either one. "The House of Beauties" details the relationship between an aged writer and the proprietress of a sort of Platonic brothel where old men prepare for death by sleeping next to beautiful young women. In "The Sound of a Voice," a warrior falls in love with a witch he is sent to kill. Both plays are set in Japan and contemplate the tricks played by age and beauty, love and death.

The female part in "The Sound of a Voice" was offered to the Kabuki star Bando Tamasaburo, who expressed interest but was not available for the next three years; Mr. Lone, who had played female roles as a child with the Peking Opera, briefly considered taking the role himself. As it turned out, the actor playing the warrior was fired three days before rehearsals were scheduled to begin, and Mr. Lone stepped into that part.

While Mr. Lone has primarily be-

come known as the key ingredient in Mr. Hwang's plays, that situation may soon change. His unusual physicality and his ability to express his quick imagination through his body won him the title role in "The Ice-man," a film by the Australian director Fred Schepisi ("The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith"), about a prehistoric man found frozen in the Arctic ice and brought back to life. He spent five months last winter in Canada working up to 17 hours a day under heavy makeup. But he found the challenge exhilarating, the camera experience invaluable, and the company of Timothy Hutton and Lindsay Crouse enjoyable, even though he pointed out to the screenwriter, John Drimmer, that, given the disparity between his salary and Mr. Hutton's, the film should be renamed "Rich Man, Poor Man."

Mr. Lone acknowledges that "The Ice-man" (scheduled for spring release) was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, not necessarily a role that will demolish for him the ethnic barrier that all Asian-American actors face. He at least is fortunate enough to have received a rigorous classical training early on. As David Hwang points out, "When you're writing for Asian actors, they often don't have as much experience as you might want. It's a vicious cycle: actors who don't work don't get better, therefore it's hard to cast them, therefore they don't work."

"In 'F.O.B.' and 'Railroad' I was consciously trying to blend Chinese theater techniques with a Western-style play," Mr. Hwang continues. "But my background in Asian theater forms is very limited." The son of an affluent Los Angeles banker, Mr. Hwang has drawn heavily from such sources as novelist Maxine Hong Kingston, playwright Frank Chin, and short story writer Yasunari Kawabata for the traditional elements of his East-West blend. Still he acknowledges, "it's one thing to put it on paper, another to realize it in theatrical form. What John has made possible is for me to physicalize a relationship between the two cultures."

Don Shewey is a regular contributor to Arts and Leisure.

# Issues Raised by 'Under Fire'

By RICHARD BERNSTEIN

Aside from the "war is hell" tradition, there are, it could be said, two kinds of war movies. One is grand adventure; it is war as an arena for passion, heroism, patriotism and, as it often happens in the movies, romance. The other is war as a test of moral fiber, as an individual proving ground where decisions have immediate and fatal consequences. Most war movies contain elements of both and so does "Under Fire," a current and controversial example of the genre. From its opening scenes in Chad, where guerrilla troops with elephants are attacked by a helicopter gunship painted as a terrifying mask, "Under Fire" is filled with scenes of combat, coarse language, exotic locales, guerrilla encampments, and two people falling in love — with, in short, much of the action and romance of revolutionary war.

But the movie is far more about fatal consequences than it is about adventure. It tells the story of three American journalists who lose all semblance of professional detachment as they become progressively caught up in the 1979 Nicaraguan civil war that ended in the overthrow of Anastasio Somoza Debayle and his replacement by the leftist Sandinistas.

The film's central theme comes in the form of a dilemma. Two of the American journalists are brought by the Sandinistas to a guerrilla encampment where they are promised they will be able to take the first-ever photographs of one Rafael, an elusive and charismatic leader who bears more than a coincidental resemblance to Che Guevara. Rafael, however, is dead, and the guerrillas, to maintain their momentum toward victory — and to discourage the United States from sending more aid to the Somoza regime — need to persuade the world that he is still alive. After some wavering, the journalists agree to make a fake photograph showing Rafael, surrounded by lieutenants, appearing to direct the revolutionary war from his headquarters. The journalists are convinced that the fake photograph will help to hasten the revolutionary triumph and to reduce the bloodshed. In this particular, extraordinary situation, they believe that the truth must be sacrificed to some higher purpose.

In the end, the lie backfires disastrously. One of the three Americans dies as a result. Photographs of the guerrilla encampment end up in the hands of Somoza's national guardsmen, helping them to murder many of the revolutionaries, the very people the journalists wanted to help. The two surviving journalists emerge a bit sadder and wiser even as the movie ends with the triumphant entry into Managua of the Sandinistas.

Given the current situation in Latin America, it seems very likely that the choice made by the journalists will be hotly disputed by some who see the film. For one thing, there is the question of political judgment. The film portrays the Sandinistas — against whom the United States Government

is supporting a guerrilla war — in a favorable light, as idealistic and handsome youths fighting for the cause of liberation, not hardbitten and ruthless Communists.

Second, there is the question of journalistic ethics. Journalists are familiar with the way in which emotions can interfere with objectively reporting the facts. "Under Fire" shows that dilemma in extreme form. Is it justified to throw over the truth altogether in order to serve a political end? Can the journalist under any circumstances join forces with those he is supposed to be covering? The questions are complex and difficult. But the film is unambiguously sympathetic to the choice that the journalists make. Despite the act of treachery to journalism and to the truth, despite even the disastrous loss of its results, "Under Fire" encourages the viewer to feel that the commitment to the revolution was so true-hearted and well-intentioned that it was the only morally acceptable choice.

Filmed in Mexico on an \$8 million

The movie is far more about fatal consequences than it is about adventure

budget, "Under Fire" was directed by Roger Spottiswoode, produced by Jonathon Taplin, and written by Clayton Frohman and Ron Shelton. Nick Nolte stars as Russel Price, a celebrated and amazingly daring magazine photographer. Gene Hackman and Joanna Cassidy co-star as the other American journalists. Ed Harris appears as an entirely amoral American mercenary who drifts from war to war fighting for whoever will pay; Jean-Louis Trintignant is a cynical businessman and double agent who, like the mercenary, has contempt for both sides.

Producer Jonathon Taplin, explaining the origins of "Under Fire" said that the film reveals an existential dilemma: to act or not to act. "We're talking about a classic movie situation," he said. "In 'Casablanca,' we want to know if Humphrey Bogart will make a commitment or will he sit on the fence. Here we watch Nick Nolte's character move from cynicism to some sense of commitment." Mr. Spottiswoode put it this way: "Under Fire" is about the complexities of journalism, about journalists coping with the difficulties of being objective and yet having feelings and sensibilities about their subjects."

Mr. Taplin said that the origins of the film came some four years ago during the early stages of what has become an ongoing reexamination of

the Vietnam War. "I became fascinated with war correspondents," he said. "At the end of the Vietnam War, a lot of books were being published, that showed a new type of correspondent, young guys who were action junkies, guys who just had to be at the next war and were always taking chances. I came to see these people as new heroes."

Mr. Spottiswoode and Ron Shelton, one of the two scriptwriters, made a trip to Nicaragua itself, where, they said, they talked to journalists, toured the country and added a number of anecdotes to the script. Among them: a young Sandinista and lover of American baseball who could pitch grenades with uncanny accuracy into the midst of government soldiers. Mr. Shelton said that the young man died during the war but not in the way shown in "Under Fire."

As a portrayal of the band of reporters, photographers and others who wear bush jackets and jeans and roam the world's trouble spots, "Under Fire" is believable. To be sure, there are moments when reporting a war seems a good deal more romantic and easier than it really is. The most extraordinary action is always blowing in the path of Nick Nolte who often seems to be about the only photographer on the scene. But never mind that. When Gene Hackman, deciding to go to cover the story in Nicaragua, tells Joanna Cassidy, "It's a neat little war with a nice hotel," he reflects, with due self-mockery, something very true in the mentality of the television age war correspondent. War is where the action is in journalism. It helps to make careers.

In "Under Fire," war reporting, to begin with, is just a job, a largely technical task. In this sense, the dilemma posed in "Under Fire" reflects a genuine problem in the real world. The journalistic technician has feelings, too. How he should deal with them, how he should react when people are being killed and he wants it to stop, are not easy matters to decide.

Yet, even with the gray areas, "Under Fire" seems to make some implicit political judgments that are likely to stir debate. The film portrays the Somoza government and all that have anything to do with it as villainous or, at best, stupid; the Sandinista revolutionaries are, by contrast, charismatic, courageous and committed. It is difficult to quarrel with the veracity the film shows of the Somoza government, but its depiction of the Sandinistas is another thing. This, after all, is the same group — except for a few notable defectors such as the famous Commander Zero, Eden Pastora Gomez — who in their four years of power have aligned themselves with Cuba and the Soviet Union, suppressed free trade unions, curbed their country's best newspapers, indefinitely postponed earlier promised elections, and forced thousands of Miskito Indians to flee into Honduras.

Richard Bernstein is United Nations bureau chief for The New York Times and is a former foreign correspondent.

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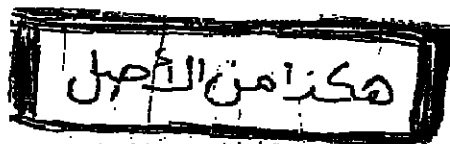
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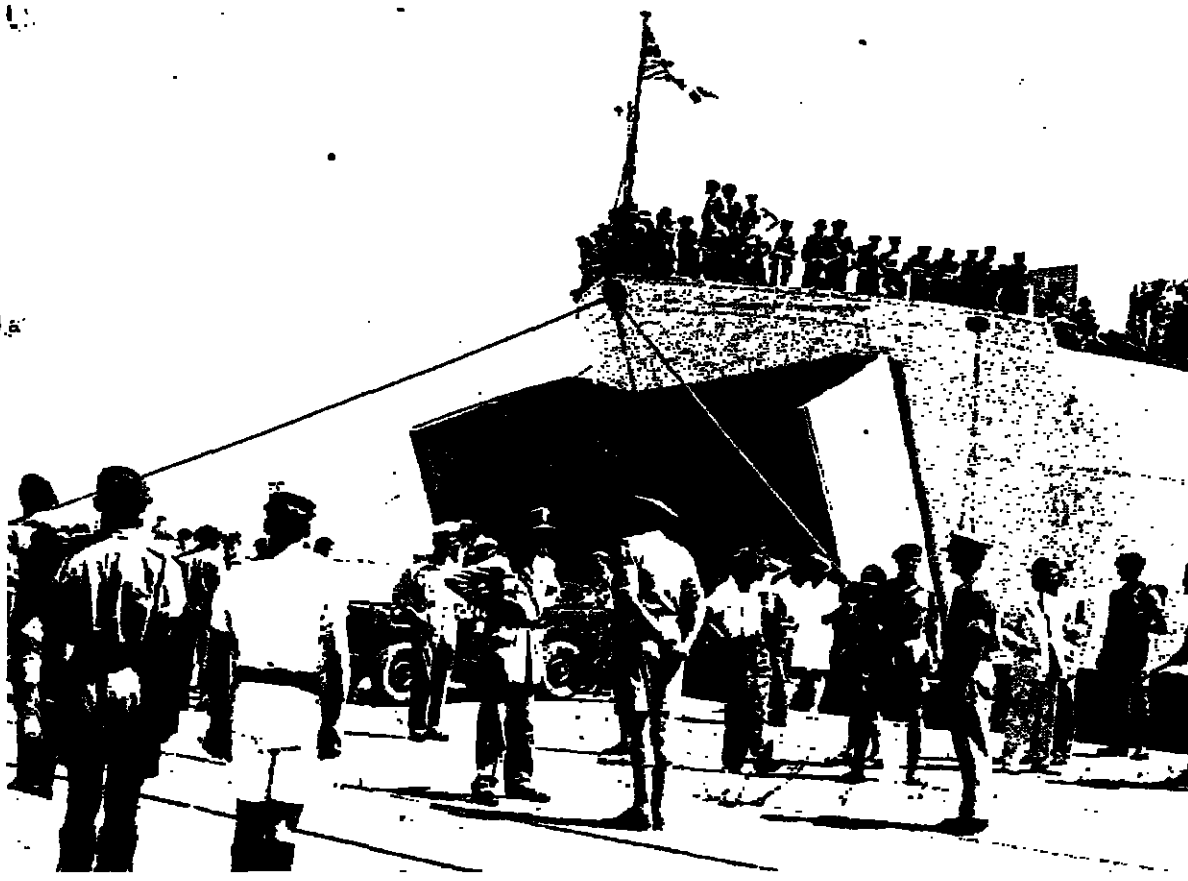
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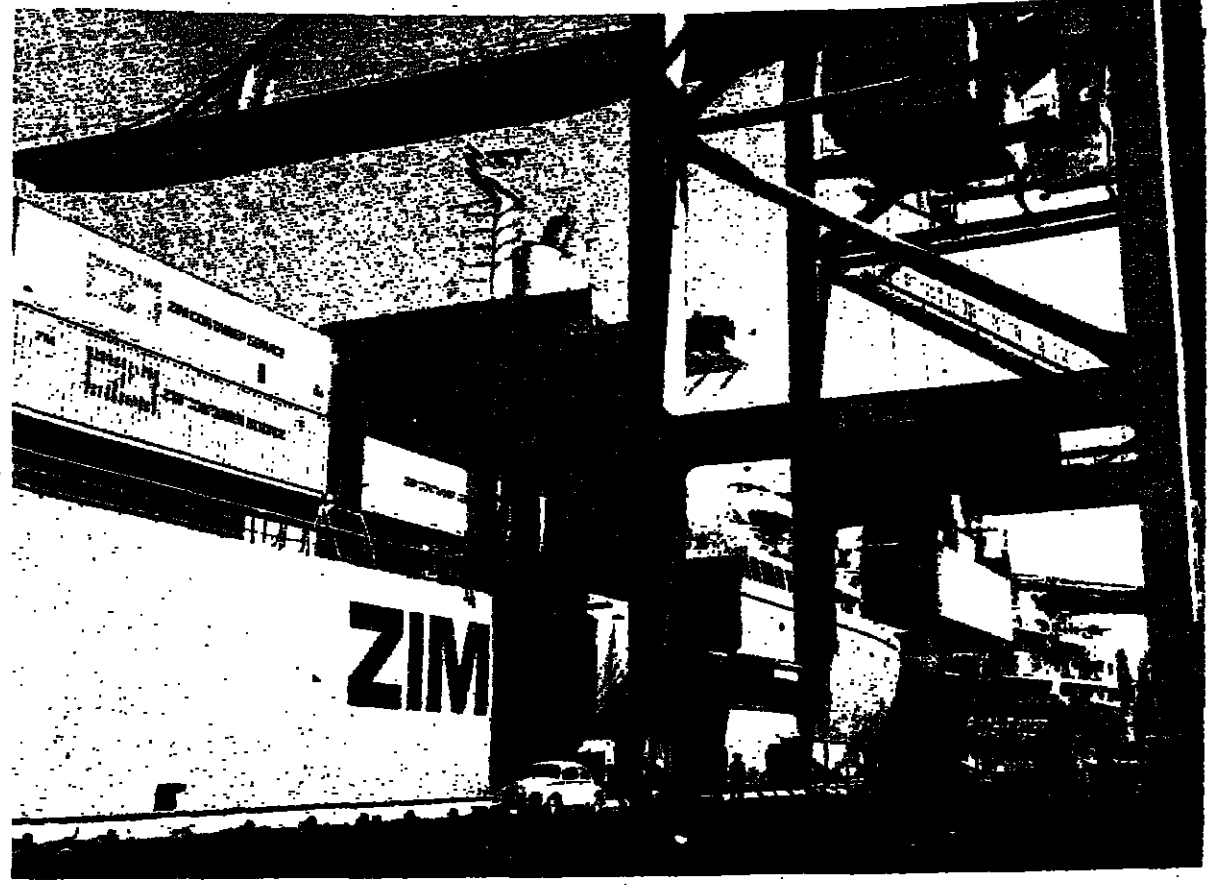




## New lease on life

Annual cargo turnover, efficiency and spirits are up at Haifa port, now marking its 50th year of operation. Ya'acov Friedler reports.

The British High Commissioner and the remainder of the British Mandatory troops leave Israel through Haifa port in May, 1948, (left) and today at the port, (right) the use of container-packed cargo means greater efficiency and volume in cargo turnover and fewer workers. (Fuchs)



"A BEAUTIFUL city had been built close to the deep blue sea. Grandiose piers and dams were mirrored in the water and showed immediately what Haifa had become: The safest and best port in the Mediterranean. Vessels of all shapes and sizes, and of all nationalities, lay at peace here."

Thus Theodor Herzl envisioned Haifa in 1902, in his book, *Altneuland*. It took 16 years less for Herzl's vision of Haifa to become a reality than it did for his dream of the establishment of a Jewish State to be fulfilled. In 1932, exactly 50 years ago this month, Haifa port was opened.

Historians estimate that for well over a thousand years, sailors have sought shelter from the southwesterly gales of the Mediterranean in the lee of Mount Carmel, now called Haifa Bay. But the first mention of Haifa harbour dates back "only" to 104 BCE, when Ptolemy Lathyrus of Cyprus — the son of Cleopatra — landed an army of 50,000 men here to fight King Alexander Yanai who was besieging Acre. During the construction of the modern port of Haifa, in 1929, remnants of a Roman jetty were also found there.

Since then, Haifa port has had its ups and downs, its relatively deep and protected bay sought after by shipping vessels — sometimes competing favourably with nearby Acre while at other times, coming in second best. The scale was tipped for good in 1905 with the opening of the Hejaz Railway branch line from Damascus to Haifa, followed three

years later by the building of a new jetty for the cargo arriving via the new railroad.

It was 20 years later, after the British conquered the country from the Turks, that the Mandatory consulting engineer, Sir Frederick Palmer, reported to the Palestine government that Haifa was the most suitable site along the coast for a deep-water harbour. The British needed such a harbour both for their own purposes as rulers of Palestine under the League of Nations Mandate, and as a Mediterranean outlet for the oil the British-owned Iraq Petroleum company piped from that country.

The Palmer report was adopted in 1927 and by April 1929, quarries were opened near Atlit, 17 kilometres south of Haifa, from which stone was brought to the harbour site by rail. Palmer is still commemorated in Haifa today: The street leading to the port's main entrance — Palmer's Gate — will not let him be forgotten.

Today's residents of the city, however, do not forgive him for the establishment of a port exactly where bathing beaches should be, and their indignation every summer is hardly mollified by a prohibitively expensive plan to dry up the present harbour basin, turn it back into a beach, and move the port east.

On October 31, 1933, High Commissioner Sir Arthur Wauchope officially declared the port open. It boasted three berths on the main wharf, for three large or four small freighters; a 15-ton fixed derrick; two, five-ton travelling gantry

cranes; and a 15-ton floating crane. The Iraq Petroleum Company pipeline was quickly brought into the harbour and the British exported oil from it for the first time in 1934.

World War II slowed down development in Haifa port, and in the three years between the end of the war and the establishment of the State of Israel, the port was known mainly for its "Wharf of Tears" — the main quay from which the British forces forcibly deported the clandestine immigrants the Royal Navy caught before their ramshackle vessels could reach the shores of the Promised Land.

But it was not long before the British themselves departed from the same quay, making way for the Jewish state and a period of rapid expansion and development at the Haifa port.

At that time, the port included the country's only deep-sea harbour, which had to handle the hundreds of thousands of immigrants who flocked to the country, the goods needed to feed, house and employ them, and the weapons to defend the new state.

New cargo handling equipment was purchased abroad, new wharves were constructed and existing facilities were expanded. But expansion at the port could not keep up with the pace of development within the country.

The first major advance came when the modern, highly efficient Dagon silo was built in the port in 1953, at the initiative and under the direction of Dr. Reuben Hecht, founder of the company. Hecht realized the need for a silo as soon as the state was established, and started protracted negotiations for its execution with the new government within weeks of its establishment. The construction of the Kishon auxiliary harbour, opened in 1952, took some of the pressure off the main port.

When the new port was opened, the British favoured cheap Arab labour and thousands of men were brought from the Khouran district of Syria to work as stevedores. But the authorities of the *yishuv* quickly recognized the importance of putting Jewish men to work there and the "conquest of stevedoring" became a major challenge for the young men of Haifa, as part of the "Conquest of Work" campaign that

was designed to make the Jews of Palestine a working people.

Jewish stevedoring actually got its biggest boost when the late Abba Khoushy — later the mayor of Haifa, but at that time a leader of the Haifa Labour Council — went to Salonika in Greece in the Thirties to bring back dozens of professional Jewish stevedores who had been working in the big port there for generations.

The last British authority controlling the port at Haifa was the Palestine Railway. When the British left, port management was set up under the newly formed Transport Ministry. The latter contracted work to a Sole Boneh (Histadrut) subsidiary called the United Port Services company, which provided all stevedoring, portage and other necessary services. This company was scandal-ridden and widely deprecated for its system of favouritism (Labour) party members for employment at a time when the country — particularly the new immigrants — was suffering from chronic under-employment.

On July 1, 1961, the Israel Ports Authority, an autonomous government body, was set up to manage Israel's ports. Seven years later, the authority took over all the activities of the United Port Services company, which are currently handled by Haifa port management.

When the management took over 15 years ago, work in the port was still done under quite primitive conditions and was definitely labour intensive. The payroll included 3,500 stevedores plus administrative staff, and the cargo turnover totalled only a little over 2.5 million tons annually. Today — thanks to a comprehensive modernization drive to keep up with the advances in shipbuilding and the replacement of general cargoes by "unitized" cargoes carried mostly in specialized ships — the labour force at Haifa port has been reduced to 1,100, while annual cargo turnover at the port has doubled to 5.2 million tons, according to port spokesman, Yair Bar-Mashiah.

The policy of reducing the labour force is still being pursued by the port's management, and it is not yet clear at which level it will finally stabilize. The goal is to achieve a level of 800 to 1,000 workers within the next five years.

The staff reduction was achieved with the cooperation of the workers and was facilitated by natural attrition, the elimination of jobs already vacated, and through an attractive early retirement scheme for redundant staff. This costs the Israel Ports Authority a lot of money but is still much cheaper than keeping people on the payroll.

Bar-Mashiah noted that despite the transition from labour-intensive to capital-intensive operations, the cargo-handling unit cost was considerably reduced — which the management holds up as a fine achievement.

Its modernization in equipment and working methods has also enabled Haifa's port to compete with the more modern Ashdod harbour, which was opened in November, 1965. The loss of Haifa's monopoly as the country's only deep-sea harbour (on the Mediterranean coast) was duly noted by the workers. But constant pay demands, disputes and strikes were gradually replaced by workers' cooperation with management in an effort to make the port more efficient and this more attractive to shippers, despite its relative distance from the centre of the country's economic activities. The specialization of cargoes, which has all but eliminated the hard physical work of old-time stevedoring, has also played an important role in the development of today's excellent labour relations at the port.

The last cargo to move into the modern age was, strangely enough, citrus fruit — one of this country's major exports. Until five years ago, each of the 40 to 50 million cases shipped abroad every year had to be handled by the stevedores, a method that was seen as belonging to the "age of pyramid-building."

Since then, greater advances have been made. After a period of trial and error, over 80 per cent of the fruit is now shipped on pallets — that need almost no manual handling — or on trailers driving straight into the holds of modern roll-on, roll-off vessels.

The increase in container-packed cargo has continued to proceed at a very fast rate. In 1974, the Haifa port management embarked on an ambitious scheme to develop a large and very modern container terminal in the eastern part of the harbour, on several hundred dunams of ground that were reclaimed from the sea and are protected by a 600-metre extension of the main breakwater.

Work was postponed several times when the Treasury would not approve the necessary investments from the port's authority's own fund. It is now estimated that the terminal will start operating in the first quarter of 1986, which will once again result in a complete face-lift of the port. The infrastructure is completed, the container handling equipment has been ordered abroad and is due here within two years, and there is now no reason for further hold-ups.

Another urgent project still tied up by the Treasury is the \$6 million dredging of the Dagon silo berth aimed at enabling it to receive the new 66,000-ton grain ships, which now bring in Israel's two million tons of annual grain imports. Having replaced the old 30,000-ton fleet, the bigger ships are more economical and will, most likely,

recoup the dredging investment in a little more than a year.

Yet, although the shipping companies acquired the ships at the insistence of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, the Treasury has not permitted the ports authority to invest the money for dredging. So, for the time being the big ships with their thousands of tons of grain first berth at the new container terminal wharf, which is deep enough to take them fully loaded, and must then discharge a third of their loads laboriously by crane. Only then — as their draught is reduced — can they berth at the silo for the efficient unloading of the remainder of their cargoes.

At the present time, it is not yet clear how long the Treasury will allow this anomaly to continue, but even after they "see the light," it will take up to a year to complete the dredging.

Finally, the Haifa port management is awaiting Treasury approval for the construction of a waiting hall for its new passenger terminal, which is necessary for dealing with the steep increase in passenger traffic — both by regular liners and cruise ships — that has taken experts, who once declared passenger shipping to be "dead," by surprise.

Pending the successful conclusion of these three projects, Haifa port at 50 can look forward to a new lease on life, and an ability to keep up with any new technology shipbuilders will develop in the future.



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## 255 securities down 5% or more

TEL AVIV. — Nervousness, resulting from a spate of rumours ranging from expectations of a new devaluation to the prospect of a severe economic programme, resulted in a major share sell off yesterday. Two hundred and fifty five securities fell by margins of 5 per cent or more. Of these, 103 individual issues could not be traded, as sell orders could not be matched with buy orders.

Since the resumption of trading on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange a week ago, officials had been announcing the prices of the bank shares first thing, in advance of trading, as part of the agreement. Yesterday, in keeping with new directives, the bank share prices were announced at the end of the share trading session.

The announcement was scheduled for immediately after the share trading session closed, but this was not the case. It came nearly an hour after the conclusion of trading. In the event, the Treasury said that its intervention had been in the order of \$70 million, and that the prices had been retained unchanged.

Turnover in non-bank shares was low — under \$136m. However, when taking into account the trading turnover in bank shares, the total figure came to \$17.67 billion. In the banking group, First International and Danot 1 were all down by margins of 10 per cent. Binyan fell 15 per cent in a sharply lower mortgage bank group.

Losses of up to 10 per cent were in evidence in the insurance equity group. Rapac 0.1, with a 15 per cent fall, was the heaviest loser in a service and trade group which saw many

### Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN

shares fell by margins of 10 per cent or even more. Land development, real estate and citrus plantation issues were sharply down on the session. Options were hardest hit with losses of up to 20 per cent.

Industrials performed poorly. Alliance was a 10 per cent loser, Elron fell by 10 per cent and its subsidiary Elbit was down more than four per cent. Dead Sea Works fell 4.5 per cent.

Investment company issues were hard hit. The group was punctuated by "sellers only" situations and many shares fell 10 per cent. Israel Corp. 5.0 shares were 10 per cent losers while the Clal group of shares reflected losses of 5-10 per cent.

There were 11 securities which appeared yesterday on the "sellers only" list for the second consecutive session. These will be traded today without any price restrictions. The securities include: Modul Beton, Caesarea 1.0, Piryon Crystal, Rapac 5.0, Magor 5.0, Hutehof 1.0, Sdom Metal, Maquette 5.0 and the Goldfrost option.

Exchange management has asked members to accept orders for these shares only if they have a price limit.

There was active trading yesterday in index-linked bonds. 4 per cent fully-linked bonds were stable with price movements of up to 2 per cent, in either direction. 3 per cent

fully-linked bonds were either stable or reflected moderate gains. Eighty per cent linked bonds were stable but a number of the groups in this sector reflected sharp gains of up to 3 per cent. 90 per cent linked bonds were steady as some moderate gains were visible.

Dollar denominated bonds and dollar linked bonds came in for demand as prices moved ahead by 2-3 per cent.

Gal Industries Weissfeller Ltd. announced that it is in the final stages of negotiations leading to its acquisition of Gerber Mills, a company specializing in multi-layer polyethylene packaging materials. The value of the transaction has been set at \$2.5m.

Zion Holdings Ltd. has announced its financial results for the six months ending June 30, 1983. Profits stood at \$55.4m, as compared with \$95.9m, for all of 1982. Inflationary accounting resulted in a loss of \$171.7m, as compared with a loss of \$140m, for all of 1982.

General A. 6553 955 n.e. General B. 33070 2 540 n.e. General C. 13670 34 n.e. General D. 13670 34 n.e. General E. 4710 103 n.e. General F. 299 1020 n.e. General G. 1629 13402 n.e. General H. 2170 141 n.e. General I. 2100 352 n.e. General J. 560 4050 n.e. General K. 1960 304 75 37.7 OHH r. 2210 38 n.e. Finance Trade 1180 n.e. Finance Tr. 5 1800 26 n.e. N. American 1 2728 820 27 10.2 N. American 2 1660 476 20 1.2 N. Am. op. 600 805 n.e. Danot 1.0 156 501 8 49.9 Danot 2.0 396 14 42 9.6 Danot 3.0 425 2436 45 9.8 Danot 4.0 337 5871 37 9.9

FOREIGN CURRENCY Yesterday's foreign exchange rates against the Israeli Sheqel, for U.S. dollar transactions under \$3,000 and transactions of other currencies under the equivalent of \$500.

|                   | Selling  | Buying   |
|-------------------|----------|----------|
| US\$              | 82.258   | 82.458   |
| Sterling          | 124.5298 | 123.2893 |
| DM                | 31.8583  | 31.5409  |
| French FR         | 10.4489  | 10.3448  |
| Swiss FR          | 28.3606  | 28.0978  |
| Dutch G           | 39.2341  | 38.8432  |
| Spanish Ptas      | 10.6855  | 10.5790  |
| Norwegian KR      | 11.3175  | 11.2048  |
| Danish KR         | 8.8198   | 8.7319   |
| Finnish M         | 14.7309  | 14.5841  |
| Canadian \$       | 67.6205  | 66.9469  |
| Australian \$     | 76.4636  | 75.7019  |
| Rand              | 72.9639  | 72.2370  |
| Belgian Cont 101  | 15.8392  | 15.4833  |
| Belgian Fin 101   | 15.4607  | 15.3066  |
| Austrian S 101    | 48.2577  | 46.8426  |
| Italian Lire 1000 | 35.8156  | 35.4590  |
| Italian Lire 1000 | 52.3072  | 51.7861  |

GOLD: \$386.10/\$386.60/oz. INTERBANK SPOT RATES: US\$ 1.4930/40 per \$ DM 2.1610/50 per \$ Swiss FR 7.5710/35 per \$ French FR 1592.50/25 per \$ Dutch G 2.9335/50 per \$ Yen 232.75/90 per \$ Danish KR 9.4436/50 per \$ Swedish KR 7.7975/80 per \$ Norwegian KR 7.3600/70 per \$

FORWARD RATES: 1 mon. 3 mos. 6 mos. US\$ 1.4835/48 1.4946/55 1.4957/62 DM 2.1603/07 2.1608/12 2.1613/17 SW FR 7.5711/13 7.5715/19 7.5719/23

At a Special Term Part VI, for Incompetency proceedings of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, held in the County of Nassau, in the County of Suffolk at the Supreme Court Building, Supreme Court Drive, Mineola, New York, on the 7th day of October, 1983.

PRESENT: HONORABLE ROBERT C. MEADE, Justice

In the Matter of the Application of BARBARA HECHT for the Appointment of a Committee of the Person and Property of HARRY HECHT an Alleged Incompetent Person.

ORDER TO SHOW CAUSE Index No. 83-15257

TO: HARRY HECHT Last Known Address 5 Whitlock Lane Melville, NY, U.S.A.

The foregoing is served upon you by publication pursuant to an Order of the Honorable Robert C. Meade, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, dated the 7th day of October, 1983, and filed with the Order to Show Cause and other papers in the Office of the Clerk of the County of Nassau, at Supreme Court Drive, Mineola, New York, U.S.A.

You are hereby Ordered to Show Cause before Judge Robert C. Meade or the Justice presiding at a Special Term for incompetency proceedings of this Court to be held in the County of Nassau, at the Supreme Court Building, Supreme Court Drive, Mineola, New York, on the 12th day of December, 1983, at 9:30 a.m. of that day, or as soon thereafter as counsel can be heard to determine whether this Court should determine of HARRY HECHT: (1) his alleged incompetency; (2) his ability to manage his affairs; (3) his real and personal property seized or possessed; and the value of said property; (4) his annual income; (5) his heirs at law and next of kin and their residence; (6) why he should not be declared incompetent; (7) why petitioner, BARBARA HECHT, should not be appointed Committee of the Person and Property of HARRY HECHT; (8) why the attendance of BARBARA HECHT at trial should be dispensed with; and, (9) why petitioner should not have such other and further relief as may be just.

Dated: Deer Park, New York October 19, 1983

STEPHEN LUPOW Attorney for Petitioner BARBARA HECHT LUPOW, GRAFSTEIN and FRANKFORD Office, and P.O. Address, 2061 Deer Park Avenue, Deer Park, NY 11759, (516) 242-7800

| Trading price | Volume | Change | % change |
|---------------|--------|--------|----------|
| 10000         | 1      | +4240  | +5.0     |
| 3774          | 1861   | n.e.   |          |
| 3788          | 2221   | n.e.   |          |
| 25712         | 16     | n.e.   |          |
| 2680          | 1213   | n.e.   |          |
| 2808          | 4979   | n.e.   |          |
| 4817          | 498    | n.e.   |          |
| 4817          | 723    | n.e.   |          |
| 3740          | 414    | n.e.   |          |
| 525           | 674    | n.e.   |          |
| 1553          | 6740   | n.e.   |          |
| 2693          | 993    | +15    | +6       |
| 1020          | 655    | +7     | +7       |
| 12760         | n.e.   |        |          |
| 647           | 1168   | +10    | +1.6     |
| 530           | 2419   | +29    | +10.0    |
| 261           | 2336   | +29    | +10.0    |
| 3300          | 10     | n.e.   |          |
| 2564          | 92011  | n.e.   |          |
| 2564          | 13329  | n.e.   |          |
| 4900          | 586    | n.e.   |          |
| 13770         | 7      | +40    | +3       |
| 9680          | 22     | +300   | +2.1     |

| Trading price | Volume | Change | % change |
|---------------|--------|--------|----------|
| 152           | 636    | -17    | -10.0    |
| 59            | 671    | n.e.   |          |
| 56            | 350    | -32    | -12.1    |
| 337           | 501    | -18    | -5.1     |
| 146           | 501    | -9     | -5.1     |
| 146           | 6      | n.e.   |          |
| 136           | 501    | -7     | -4.9     |
| 356           | 14     | -14.7  | -4.1     |
| 71            | 5      | -40    | -35.9    |
| 364           | 501    | -19    | -5.0     |
| 212           | 30     | -32    | -15.2    |
| 100           | 502    | -8     | -3.0     |
| 160           | 1      | -160   | -15.0    |
| 364           | 501    | -11    | -4.9     |
| 1400          | 74     | -98    | -6.5     |
| 365           | 323    | -63    | -10.0    |
| 378           | 32     | -2     | -0.5     |
| 700           | 68     | -5     | -0.7     |
| 450           | 6      | +30    | +7.1     |

| Trading price | Volume | Change | % change |
|---------------|--------|--------|----------|
| 1130          | 11     | +20    | +1.8     |
| 1100          | 50     | +50    | +4.8     |
| 279           | 188    | -31    | -10.0    |
| 214           | 216    | n.e.   |          |
| 85            | 102    | +5     | +6.3     |
| 715           | 133    | n.e.   |          |
| 308           | 1805   | n.e.   |          |
| 305           | 642    | n.e.   |          |
| 137           | 173    | -10    | -6.8     |
| 64            | 173    | n.e.   |          |
| 457           | 501    | -24    | -5.0     |
| 266           | 320    | -14    | -5.0     |
| 137           | 751    | -7     | -0.9     |
| 638           | 13     | -33    | -4.9     |
| 654           | 8      | +29    | +4.6     |
| 181           | 376    | -20    | -10.0    |
| 163           | 89     | -18    | -9.9     |
| 80            | 925    | -10    | -1.1     |
| 117           | 173    | -19    | -16.0    |
| 350           | 301    | n.e.   |          |
| 175           | 24     | n.e.   |          |
| 318           | 502    | -17    | -5.1     |
| 135           | 30     | -7     | -4.9     |

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| 638           | 13     | -33    | -4.9</   |



**THE JERUSALEM POST**  
 Ari Roth  
 Editor and Managing Director  
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Heshvan 24, 5744 • Mubarram 24, 1404

## Wrong target

GOVERNMENT FUNDING of higher education is the subject of intense debate again. There was no doubt that it would be, ever since the former finance minister, Yoram Aridor, in a last feeble effort to save his tottering seat, raised the cry for cuts in the state budget — including cuts in education, and especially in higher education.

Now the cry has been taken up again by Mr. Aridor's successor at the Treasury, Yigal Cohen-Orgad.

Yesterday Mr. Cohen-Orgad met with the education minister, Ze'evulun Hammer, to discuss, *inter alia*, a proposal to raise university fees to \$1,000. That this Treasury plan should have been communicated to Mr. Hammer through the media is unseemly. But it does not necessarily follow that it is in principle improper to expect students to pay not much less for their higher studies than parents do for their little children's kindergarten education.

The issue would not, of course, have arisen if the previous management at the Treasury had not driven the economy into the ground. But that, alas, is what it did, and for that failure all the people must now bear the penalty. All that can be assured at this time is that the burden should be justly apportioned.

A number of valid objections to the Treasury's plan have, it is true, been entered by the student organizations. The near doubling of tuition fees in real terms after the start of the school year is an extraordinary and most unwelcome innovation. Besides, the plan is in violation of a schedule of fees worked out, with the Treasury's consent, by the Katsav Committee last year, and meant to hold for five years.

At a time of national emergency, such as the present, such earlier undertakings may, however, have to be waived. It cannot be gainsaid that the government must cut its expenditures, and students who do not come from affluent homes will, like most other citizens, feel the pinch. The pain may be eased in several ways, for example by students working more during the summer recess and travelling less abroad. The government should also, through the banks, offer a scheme for partially subsidized loans to students, in addition to university loan funds that are at present apparently not fully utilized by students.

If such measures are instituted, no needy student should have to drop out in consequence of the higher tuition fees. To be sure, higher fees will make life more difficult for Israel's students, most of whom come to university at a relatively advanced age, after stints of various duration in the army. But the students can live with them. The real question is whether the universities can live with the further cuts which the Treasury has set for them.

It is a truth generally acknowledged that higher education is the one sector of the national economy in which productivity — measured here by the ratio of students to staff — has increased in recent years. This has been due to economies introduced by the universities themselves. But academic services such as libraries and laboratories have been grievously hurt in the process, and the quality of instruction and research has suffered.

Such fat as the universities may at one time have sported has by now been pared away. The knife is now bound to cut to the bone. The Treasury already owes the universities a hefty sum, the non-delivery of which put in doubt the opening of the present school year. More budgetary slashes will rob the country of that academic excellence which has been not only its pride but a great source of its strength.

Unfortunately for them, the universities, unlike the yeshivot, command the support of no organized political lobby. On the other hand their detractors among the know-nothings are legion. Yet it must be obvious that, sooner or later, a second-rate system of higher education will produce a second-rate Israel.

THE MEAGRE participation in the local elections last week has been widely deplored. Though the national average was 58 per cent, the average in the Jewish sector was around 50 per cent (75 per cent of the Arabs and Druse with the right to vote exercised that right).

The relatively low participation is a manifestation of the general political dissatisfaction with the government. This, however, does not necessarily translate into support for Labour.

To be fair, though, it should be pointed out that the 50 per cent of the Jewish population which did not turn out to vote includes some 200,000 Israelis abroad who appear on the voters' roll even though many of them are actual or potential *ordinim*.

Apparently, too, the declaration of a holiday was not sufficient incentive for a large percentage of the Israeli population to go out and vote — it only to compensate the economy for the loss of production with a contribution to democracy.

The only solution seems to be the combination of Knesset and municipal elections. In the past, such simultaneous elections resulted in Israel holding the voting record in the democratic world.

OF COURSE, the final analysis of the election results must await the second-round voting on November 8. However, certain observations may already be made.

Firstly, because more than 40 per

## THE LOCAL ELECTIONS: An interim analysis

By SHEVAH WEISS

cent of the electorate did not go to the polls — and many of them would certainly participate if general elections were held today — it is rather difficult to draw any conclusions regarding the national political scene.

The 40 per cent could include many potential Alignment voters, especially if dissatisfaction with the government continues. It could include potential voters for a new centre party, if such a party were to emerge before the next elections. But it also could include Likud supporters if the government performance improves.

Undoubtedly, the Alignment can draw comfort from the fact that in certain development towns, which were considered to be Likud strongholds, a second round will be

held and that in certain neighbourhoods where Labour had great difficulties in 1977 and 1981, Labour actually increased its support.

It is clear that cracks are appearing in the massive support which the Likud has had in certain towns and neighbourhoods, though Labour does not always benefit from this: Tami is known to have gained from at least some of the anti-Likud protest vote.

THERE ARE, of course, limits to the conclusions which can be drawn from local elections with regard to how people would act in national elections. The fact that personal popularity plays such a major role in the local elections makes it very difficult to discern how much of the

vote is due to the personality of the candidate himself and how much is due to his party.

The election results in the three major cities — Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa — were clear victories for the ruling mayors, and while the Alignment can be satisfied with the achievements of Haifa's Arye Gurel and Jerusalem's Teddy Kollek, the Likud has reason to be pleased with the success of Tel Aviv's Shlomo Lahat.

Again, the Alignment can compliment itself on the upheaval in Rishon LeZion, while the Likud can gloat over the upheaval in Herzliya. Both blocks certainly had successes (the Alignment in Kiryat Yam, Nahariya, Zichron Ya'akov, Carmel, Arad, Upper Nazareth, Givat Shmuel, Beer Ya'akov, Nes Ziona, Pardess Hana, to name a few; the Likud in Menahemiyah, Migdal, Rosh Pina, Metulla and Kfar Yona).

However, the balance between the two blocs remains a delicate one. The Alignment can be moderately pleased with its performance, although pundits who expected a landslide victory were certainly disappointed. At the same time, the Likud, which entered the elections with great handicaps — Begin's resignation, the grave economic situation — certainly did not collapse.

BUT, BEYOND the two major blocs, what do the election results

reveal about the local lists and the smaller parties? Firstly, in the large cities, local lists, irrespective of the enthusiasm of those initiating them, failed miserably, while small national parties, such as Shinui, the Independent Liberals, Tami, etc., failed to attract more support locally than they have done nationally.

In this respect, the election results in the large cities do bear some comparison to the national election results, as opposed to results in the smaller towns.

In those towns where strong local lists exist — Kiryat Bialik, Tiv'on, Kiryat Ono, Ramat Hasharon, Neve Mosson, Kiryat Shmona, Kfar Shmaryahu and Even Yehuda, to name a few — it is extremely difficult to determine how votes would translate on a national level. The same observation holds for towns in which local issues played a major role in the voting.

On the whole, the National Religious Party, despite its internal problems and the real danger of a split, is definitely still on the map, while Tami, which entered the municipal picture with moderate success (the one exception being the major personal victory of Eli Dayan in Ashkelon) is now clearly on the map.

Now for round two. The trends will be clearer after November 8.

The writer is a Labour Party MK and professor of political science at Haifa University.

### READERS' LETTERS

#### SECULAR COERCION IN ISRAELI SOCIETY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: — In my capacity as a community social worker in Safad, I have had numerous occasions to meet young people spending time as volunteers on kibbutzim. They come to Safad seeking rest and relaxation from their hard work schedule on the kibbutz. Often they seek to explore some religious Jewish avenues of interest that they feel they are not allowed to pursue while on the kibbutz.

Despite the fact that some secular kibbutzim advertise themselves as more traditional than others, the near impossibility of eating in a kosher kitchen or holding a Jewish prayer service of any kind presents a difficult dilemma to the Jewish volunteer whose very arrival on the kibbutz is a way of acting out his Jewish identity. Ironically, I meet many Jewish volunteers from various kibbutzim who report that Christian volunteers are allowed and encouraged to hold prayer services of their own and often are given the opportunity to attend church services in Tiberias on Sundays. A Jewish volunteer asking to go to synagogue is often scoffed at and disregarded.

The substitutions and cultural programme provided by the kibbutzim are all right in themselves. However, if a society speaks of progressive ideas and pluralism, shouldn't the Jewish volunteer be given a chance to choose, rather than have a secularist framework imposed on him? Recently, I encountered two volunteers from two different kibbutzim, who felt the desire to wear a kippa and occasionally don tefillin. They were both sternly rebuffed by the powers that be and denied the right to their own religious expression and exploration. One of the young men humorously describes how the kibbutz "allowed him" to put on tefillin in front of a fourth grade class so they would see a custom the

#### MEANINGFUL JUDAISM

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: — For the benefit of Israelis disillusioned with Orthodoxy who are seeking a meaningful interpretation of Judaism, the Union for Traditional Conservative Judaism has published an ad in The Jerusalem Post containing a statement of principles that the Council of Sages of Agudat Yisrael would agree with completely (October 14).

It asks students, singles and families wishing to join this Union (founded "in the spirit of Solomon Schechter") to send their donations in dollars to a P.O.B. address at Grand Central Station in New York.

It is a pity that both the Conservative and Reform movements in Israel are Diaspora-based and Diaspora-financed. Israelis who are sincerely searching for a meaningful Judaism rooted in tradition but susceptible to change are invited to the country's only independent, non-Orthodox, non-affiliated congregation, Kehillat M'vakeshei Derech, which meets every Sabbath morning in the Rehavia High School on Keren Kayemet Street in Jerusalem.

LEONARD GOODMAN

Jerusalem.

#### ARAB AUXILIARIES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: — The U.S. ought to think very carefully, before establishing a Jordan Rapid Deployment Force or something to that effect, for eventual use in the (still) pro-Western Persian Gulf oil sheikhdoms.

There is a precedent, now conveniently forgotten: in 1941, during the pro-Axis Rashid Ali revolt in Iraq, the British wanted to use against him "their" Arab forces in the region — the Arab Legion and the Transjordan Frontier Force. However, these forces refused to fight, especially as the Axis at that time was not yet regarded as a loser. If the British got local assistance, it did not come from their supposed official allies.

Rehovot. PEREZ TURA

Nahariya.

#### SALARY INCREASES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: — In your issue of October 17, I read that salaries of ministers, MKs, etc. were going to be increased by at least 50 per cent.

When our economy is in turmoil and economizing is the slogan of the day, this decision-making group should have the decency to reject such an increase. What about its psychological impact on the population? Or do these people care only for their own pockets?

B. OUDKERK

Jerusalem.

#### BLOOD LIBEL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: — News has just reached me from Leningrad of the following episode. A group of Leningrad Jews has tried to bring a criminal case against the Soviet anti-Zionist writer, Lev Korneyev. Their anger was sparked off by Korneyev's public allegation that, in a recent incident in the Lebanon, two Israeli soldiers quarrelled as to whether a certain pregnant Palestinian woman was expecting a boy or a girl. To resolve their quarrel, according to Korneyev, the soldiers killed the woman and cut open her stomach.

Disgusted by this modern "blood libel," several refuseniks went directly to the Leningrad Public Prosecutor. But he refused to take any action, on the grounds that Korneyev had committed no crime. A few days later, the Jews who had tried to challenge Korneyev were summoned to the KGB and told, "drop it."

May I take up space in your columns to report this courageous action by our fellow Jews?

MARTIN GILBERT, Visiting Professor, Department of History, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

#### SOCIAL NORMS AND HALACHIC SHIFT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: — Pinchas Fell's attempt to differentiate between the issues of "mixed pews" and women rabbis, from the vantage point of Conservative Judaism (October 24) misses the point. It ignores the role of social consensus in the halachic interpretative process.

The role of women in modern society has changed so much since Biblical, Talmudic, and medieval times that it has necessitated a re-evaluation of the traditional halachic norms. Mixed pews was a conservative response to the demands of society in its time, women rabbis is their contemporary response to the changing social consensus, within their own camp. In neither case are the religious texts sufficiently unequivocal to delegitimize the new practice.

Similarly in the Orthodox camp, it was once halachically illegitimate to allow women to teach in schools,

#### libel, several refuseniks went direct

to the Leningrad Public Prosecutor. But he refused to take any action, on the grounds that Korneyev had committed no crime. A few days later, the Jews who had tried to challenge Korneyev were summoned to the KGB and told, "drop it."

It is the social consensus of the particular group as it expresses itself in the sensitivity of its leadership that determines the way halachic goes. Indeed that is the meaning of the word itself — "that which walks or goes along with the stream of life," but does not violate in the process the universal and timeless ethical principles enshrined in the Torah.

ARYEH NEWMAN

Jerusalem.

### POSTSCRIPTS

**PS** THE AMERICAN Jewish Committee has filed a legal brief urging that a person seeking to avoid deportation from the U.S. need only establish that there is a "well-founded fear" that he will face political persecution if he is forced to return to his country, instead of establishing a "clear probability."

The AJC advocates this more liberal approach in order that the U.S. should play a key role in securing freedom for refugees by providing, along with other free nations, a safe haven for the world's oppressed, according to the AJC's legal director, Samuel Rabinov.

The friend-of-the-court brief was filed recently with the U.S. Supreme Court in a suit involving Predrag Stevic, a native of Yugoslavia. It came to the court in the form of an appeal by the government from a decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals, which ordered the reopening of deportation proceedings against him.

Although a new liberal definition could help refugees from Haiti, El Salvador, Ethiopia and other such countries, the AJC has its mind focused on past Jewish history, when untold millions of Jews trapped in Europe when World War II broke out were not allowed into the U.S. The AJC has consistently urged a generous immigration policy and has resisted all attempts to restrict the definition of "refugee."

**PS** IT'S THE LEOPARDS that keep the ibex healthy, according to the Nature Reserves Authority. In a recent census in the Judean Desert, the Authority found that the ibex herds are healthier than previously, largely thanks to the leopards which had eaten the sick and the weak.

The total number of ibexes is estimated at 700, a considerable rise from the 370 counted in the first such census in 1980. According to the authority, under optimal conditions, the number of ibexes in the region could grow to some 3,000. H.S.

### RELATIONS BETWEEN ARABS AND JEWS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: — Meron Benvenisti concludes in David Richardson's article, "Labour's urban sprawl" (October 7) that "urban and ethnic tensions" must surely be the result of Arabs and Jews living together in Judea and Samaria; this is not true.

I have been a resident in such a settlement for the past five years and can attest to the exact opposite. In the beginning, there were almost no relations with our Arab neighbours. Now there is almost no evening when there are no Arabs paying social visits to settlers. Our social functions are attended by our neighbours, and the children are learning to play together (in a mixture of Hebrew and Arabic).

Peace will come to the Middle East only when we do live together and only through face to face relations. Someone like Meron Benvenisti should spend his time studying the true relations between Arabs and Jews living together in Eretz Yisrael rather than encouraging the populations to tension as in Belfast.

Unsigned in order to protect my Arab neighbours. Name and address supplied. The absence of a signature says it all. D.R.

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